PESHAWAR'S 'EMERGENT CIVIL SOCIETY': THE POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACEBUILDING

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ABSTRACT

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Key words: Civil society, peacebuilding, violent extremism, religious orthodoxy, masculinity, and modularity.

This thesis argues that a peace-oriented struggle has emerged in Peshawar from within the non–state space and is demonstrated at the empirical level by various associations in that space. The struggle to embrace peace and reject different forms of violence, by this associational life in Peshawar is what we call an 'emergent civil society'. The thesis argues against those who claim that civil society cannot exist or flourish in a non-western environment. Civil Society in Peshawar is emergent, as the empirical evidence suggests, but within an overarching tendency to root this in a local cultural identity. The latter is, however, imbued with values, belief systems, and gender roles, which limit the search for peace. Two examples are the dominance of a hyper masculinity and religious orthodoxies, which undermine forms of associationalism which might promote peace.

To find an indigenous cultural identity, the 'emergent civil society' navigates, not without tensions, across three different worldviews that includes cultural (Pakhtunwali), religious (Islam) and, to a certain extent, liberal (human rights) perspectives. The tensions between different perspectives become more frictional when the 'emergent civil society' advocates women's rights and religious pluralism, which is resisted by the antithetical forces of masculinity and religious orthodoxies.

Amidst these contestations, the ‘emergent civil society’, while resisting these antithetical forces, pressurizes the state also to provide favourable conditions to continue its peace-oriented struggle. This thesis, however, suggests that the ‘emergent civil society’ also needs an in-ward looking tendency to self reflect on certain challenges that seem to impact the potential for growth and development of an associational life, which can fully embrace the social conditions for peace.

ACRONYMS

AIML	All India Muslim League
AKBT	Association for Behaviour and Knowledge Transformation
CAMP	Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme
CAPS	Community Appraisal Programs-Peshawar
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CYAD	College of Youth Activism and Development
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FCR	Frontier Crime Regulation
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
INC	Indian National Congress
JeM	Jaish-e-Mohammad
JI	Jumath-e-Islami
JPI	Just Peace Initiatives
JUI-F	Jameeath-e-Ulama-e-Islam –Fazlur-Rahman Group
JUI-S	Jameeath-e-Ulama-e-Islam –Sami-ul-Haq Group
KK	Khwendo Kor
KKT	Khudai Khidmatagar Tehreek

KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LeJ	Lashkar-e-Jhangnavi
LeT	Lashkar-e-Tayiba
ML	Muslim League
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SCN	Sarhad Conservation Network
SPARC	Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child
SPO	Strengthening Participatory Organization
SSP	Sipah-e-Sahaba
TNC	Tribal NGOs Consortium
TTP	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
UNDP	Unedited Nation Development Programme
UNO	United Nation Organization
USA	United States of America

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the victims of violent extremism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pakistan

To those who knew that they are killed for their independent opinions and to those who did not know why are they killed.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

'Emergent civil society'[1] in Peshawar[2] and its limitations

This thesis analyses the peace-oriented struggle that emanates from the non-state social space in Peshawar and is demonstrated, at the empirical level, by 'certain'[3] associations based in Peshawar. It is argued, here, that something reminiscent of and akin to the Western debate on the conceptualisation of civil society helps illuminate the non-state social space in Peshawar and the associations of this non-state social space may be called an 'emergent civil society'[4] in Peshawar. This emergence is taking place around the search for a source of peace and against violence and is reflected, at the empirical level, by a dynamic of associationalism that has new components. However, it is also imbued with certain antithetical forces, which act as limitations and seem to limit the potential emergence of civil society in Peshawar. Such antithetical forces, ultimately, impact the peace-oriented struggle in Peshawar and demonstrate that whilst the Western notion of civil society may be helpful to capture this specific moment yet it is not without problems.

The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar tends to show an explicit desire to embrace local traditional and religious perspectives to build peace and reject

[1] Civil society is a complex and contested idea as is the notion that it is emergent, hence I have used commas to suggest that this is a tentative conceptualization to analyse those specific sections of the Pakhtun associational forms, which exhibit peace oriented claims amidst violence in Peshawar.

[2] Peshawar is the capital city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (See map in Appendix B).

[3] In this thesis, we want to highlight certain associations based in Peshawar and which are engaged to build peace, as being part of the 'emergent civil society'.

[4] The adjective 'emergent', here, means *the process of coming into being or becoming prominent* (Oxford Dictionary). Emergent civil society, here, means that civil society in Peshawar is in the process of coming into being.

violence. It retains an identity rooted in local cultural norms rather than deriving its philosophic base from liberal individualism. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, in this sense, is oriented more towards the 'alternative[5]' discourse of civil society rather than the mainstream 'liberal' approach, as explored in the coming sections.[6] However, the desire of retaining a local cultural identity triggers certain antithetical forces such as hyper masculinity and religious orthodoxy, which renders the 'emergent civil society' a battleground of contested ideas and, which ultimately seem to act against the desire. The contestations, which emerged confuse the character of this 'emergent civil society' and the idea of civil society, which can both contribute to peace and nonviolence but still retain its affinity with the Pakhtun culture becomes difficult to sustain. Yet, this thesis argues, these efforts are, nevertheless, signs that the struggle to construct forms of associationalism, which can progressively transform public values is possible, even without the classic shifts to fully marketised and liberalised societies, which characterise the West.

[5] 'Alternative', in this thesis, is used in two different but overlapping meanings: first, as a reference to the non-Western value systems, such as local traditional and religious perspectives, which will be explored in coming chapters and second, as a reference to a distinct theoretical approach to civil society, which can be distinguished from the mainstream 'liberal' approach and, which can ultimately be used as a criticism of the gender and liberal assumptions of the latter approach.

[6] 'Alternative' and 'liberal' approaches are used, in this thesis, as analytical shorthand, which are underpinned by distinct theoretical threads and neither of them is conceptually coherent. Certain theoretical themes in the 'alternative' discourse of civil society rather than mainstream 'liberal', as will be explored in the coming chapters, resonate in our case study such as: the retention of local cultural identity rather than embracing individual liberalism, civil society as the battleground of contested ideas, imbued with unequal power relations rather than civil society as a homogeneous ground, engaged in a consensual relation with the state and market, and civil society retaining a collective, communitarian orientation. However the 'emergent civil society' reflects a 'liberal' thread, i.e. Habermasian perspective of establishing validity claims through dialogue, yet it maintain a distinct alternative character by presenting a traditionally-constituted perspective of reason.

The embrace of an indigenous persona and the presence of antithetical forces make it difficult for the 'emergent civil society' to flourish, develop and impact, because those traditional norms appear in some aspects, for instance, conservative masculine worldview and religious extremism, to hold back the potential to build a vibrant associational life, which is also owned and rooted in Peshawar society.

It is argued in this thesis that the strong tendency exhibited by the 'emergent civil society' to retain its own indigenous identity generates implications, which, in turn creates serious limitations. Retaining a local cultural persona seems to form an overarching tendency within which the 'emergent civil society' seems to operate at the empirical level and navigates across three different worldviews that includes local cultural (Pakhtunwali), religious (Islam) and, to a certain extent, 'liberal'[7] (human rights) perspectives. The navigation between these three worldviews, however, is not without tensions and a contested battle of ideas ensues at multiple points. Tensions between these three perspectives become more frictional and observable when the 'emergent civil society' posits the desire for cultural change and advocates peaceful interactions, as feminist voices demonstrate in this thesis, that is resisted by the conservative masculine forces. The frictional encounter, once again, becomes visible when the 'emergent civil society' rejects violent extremism and religious orthodox forces and comes into tension with the religious extremism on the one hand and the state on the other hand. These encounters render the entire 'emergent civil

[7] 'Liberal', in this thesis, means the tendency of an individual to articulate, protect and advocate his/her individual interests and rights before a given community. This may be seen as akin to the Western conception of human rights. However, in this thesis 'liberal' is used as embedded within local cultural and religious perspectives.

society' in Peshawar as an arena of cultural reproduction in which clashes between different perspectives occur, thus, reflecting Gramscian approach to civil society, as explored in chapter 5.

While this thesis argues that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar tends to retain its local value systems as the metaphysical foundation of civil society and, thus, deviates from the mainstream 'liberal' approach of civil society, yet this thesis also draws attention and analyses, in detail, the complexities involved in such a trajectory.

Amidst these contestations the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, that advocates peace and rejects violence, looks towards the state to create favourable conditions for the 'emergent civil society' to operate. These may include social justice, improved law and order and the implementation of citizenship[8]. This thesis suggests that in order to overcome these contestations, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, while keeping up pressure on the state, may also need to develop an inward-looking tendency to self-reflect on these challenging contestations that are potentially impacting on the co-ordinating synergy of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

In order to understand the nature of the tensions between different worldviews, the following section will present the three worldviews and their specific characteristics.

Contestations within the non-state social space in Peshawar

[8] Such a tendency diffuses the difference between the 'alternative' and 'liberal' approaches to civil society as both approaches advocates the creation of favourable conditions.

The ‘emergent civil society’ in Peshawar invokes three perspectives to find an indigenous persona that may ultimately form the philosophical foundation of the ‘emergent civil society’. By seeking an indigenous, immanent persona, the ‘emergent civil society’ in Peshawar deviates from the mainstream liberal conception of civil society and instead shows an orientation towards the ‘alternative’ discourse of civil society. In other words, it is not individual liberalism rather local traditional and religious value systems, which emerge as the dominant features of the ‘emergent civil society’ in Peshawar as explored below. However, retention of local cultural identity renders the ‘emergent civil society’ into a battleground of competing perspectives also, which illustrates the way associational life can be a field of multiple and contesting value systems as the ‘alternative’ challenges to the liberal ideal of civil society also recognise.

Pakhtunwali, an important traditional perspective, is an un-written code of the Pakhtun way of life inherited from the distant past, ‘transmitted through an oral tradition’ to the next generations, that ‘governs the life of the individual Pukhtoons as well as their communities’ (Spain, 1972; Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005: 44; Khatak, 2012). It is Pakhtun’s unwritten social constitution, developed over hundreds of years, that ensures community cohesion and social order, addresses their needs, acts as a social contract among the Pakhtun, defines social roles and responsibilities of various gender groups and preserves the Pakhtun culture and identity. It comprises various norms and values, social structures, institutions and individual and collective practices.

Nevertheless, Pakhtun are also Muslims. For them, Islam acts as an extremely important worldview like Pakhtunwali that links them ‘with model past’ and

'persons' that 'offers the only sound basis… for forming and reforming one's society in any age' (William Graham as cited in Zaman, 2002: 3). In Pakhtun society, Islam has mingled with the Pakhtunwali, creating a unique character of its own. For some, Pakhtunwali and Islam are in harmony. As, for instance Akbar S. Ahmed (1991: 139) argues that 'Islam is so much a part of the Pakhtun structures as to suggest that the dichotomy is false'. While this is an important interpretation of the relationship between Pakhtunwali and Islam, another interpretation also exists, as examined below, whereby the tension between them seems to take a frictional encounter.

Besides cultural and religious perspectives, the liberal worldview is also considered to be an important perspective that may inform the philosophical base of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar as demonstrated by women respondents of this research from Peshawar in particular. The liberal perspective proposes the importance of people as citizens, entitled to certain human rights irrespective of their cultural, ethnic, or gender background. The liberal worldview oscillates between two perspectives: a liberal Western perspective and liberalism as constituted within local traditional and religious perspectives. However, the liberal discourse being originated in the West and carrying a Westernized connotation, is perceived as the international agenda of human rights by others and seems to develop in conflict with other perspectives.

The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, in order to find the source of peace that may enable it to reject and oppose violence, seems to navigate across these three worldviews. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, in its search for an

immanent philosophical base, invokes these three competing worldviews that may yield the 'emergent civil society' an immanent character. Pakhtunwali is perceived by some[9] normatively as the secular, plural social order that may potentially indigenize the very concept of civil society and contribute to peace. Civil society if indigenized within Pakhtunwali may retain its cultural identity informed by a community oriented spirit, which, unlike the 'liberal' individual underpinning of the dominant civil society discourse in the West, does have some resonance with those who see civil society as a space of contested worldviews and norms. If the 'emergent civil society' embraces Pakhtunwali then it may lead to the construction of indigenous collective arrangements, whereby people with different religious identities will participate. The non-violent movement amongst the Pakhtun in the 20th century is quoted, in particular, as an example, wherein the Pakhtun tried to construct a new social order based on non-violence. This is the potential reference point for an associational life, which opens up to distinct views and religious philosophies, while retaining the sense of identity imbued within the historical evolution of Pakhtun society.

Islam, on the other hand, is perceived as the most appropriate perspective that can inform Pakhtun's interactions and may create a plural and tolerant social order if interpreted positively. For some[10] Islam, then, is a progressive religion that has to be prioritized over cultural identity. For them Islam's ageless principles of social justice and equality and Islamic human rights can potentially

[9] We call them 'traditionalists' as chapter 5 shows in detail.

[10] We call them 'religious-reformists' as will be discussed in chapter 5.

provide an immanent value system wherefrom civil society may emerge. However, unlike traditionalists, religious-reformists give equal importance to religion and do not seem to support the secular and nationalist tendencies as exhibited by those who prioritize Pakhtunwali.

The liberal worldview does not seem to oppose the importance of civil society having a cultural identity yet emphasises individual rights rather than collective cultural rights. Citizenship and human rights seem to form an important value system for liberals[11]. This perspective is mostly embraced by women respondents. In addition to the acceptance of Pakhtun culture as an important value system and Islam as an important philosophical system, they introduce an individualistic strand. Civil society perceived as an organic sphere, rooted in local cultural consciousness, with communitarian structural arrangements seems to experience a fissure. An emphasis on individual human rights, perceived to be Western in origin and character, then places them in opposition to both traditionalists and religionists.

These tensions seem to inform us of the contestations between different worldviews that occur within the overarching desire, expressed by all respondents, to embed the 'emergent civil society' in local traditional and religious perspectives. Respondents, with different worldviews whether Pakhtunwali, Islam or human rights, tend to show the desire of retaining a cultural identity for the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. Integrated within these perspectives are the forces of tradition as exhibited by a masculine mindset that is criticised and challenged by women respondents from

[11] This thesis has named them 'reformists' as will be discussed in chapter 5.

Peshawar. This antithetical force seems to limit the 'emergent civil society's' desire of cultural change, wherein women may live as persons with rights. On the other hand, the forces of religious extremism that grew in particular social and political contexts in Pakistan, also seem to limit the 'emergent civil society's' desire to promote tolerance and a religiously plural society.

Unlike civil society in the West which challenged both religion and tradition, rejected pre-defined roles and obligations, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar seems predisposed towards retaining religion and culture as important sources of civility and tolerance. In other words, instead of acquiring impersonal and contractual relations, civil society in Peshawar tends to retain a cultural identity and collective spirit. Diverging from the mainstream 'liberal' perspective of civil society, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar seems inclined towards the 'alternative' discourse of civil society. In other words, civil society in Peshawar does not seem to be inclined to embrace modularity[12] as its central defining feature. While the 'emergent civil society' wants to retain the cultural dimension yet this cultural dimension also seems to weaken it in specific respects such as gender relations and the specific use of Islam by the state. In other words, certain aspects in tradition and religion may also inhibit the potential emergence of civil society. This thesis will argue that despite these tensions, Peshawar's civil society is likely to make a contribution to peace, but only if it shows the capacity to deal with its own internal tensions.

[12] 'Modularity', deduced from 'modular', was used by Gellner (1996). Gellner, being a strong proponent of the mainstream liberal conception of civil society, argued that 'modularity' alone can build civil society, which emerges within certain liberal conditions as explained in chapter 3.

Contestations within the non-state social space[13]: leaping from mild to frictional encounter

The 'emergent civil society's' tendency to retain a local cultural identity and immanent value-systems that may form the philosophical foundation, seems to experience certain limitations. As our data analysis shows in chapters 5 and 6, it was observed that there are deeper issues involved that are closely linked with the very desire of embedding civil society in immanent value systems. If the 'emergent civil society' has to have an indigenous persona as our respondents are inclined to show, then what could be the possible implications of these tensions between different worldviews and how one can observe them at the empirical level?

As this thesis unpacked respondents' ideas of 'peace' and 'violence', the data analysis revealed that the friction, between cultural change and forces of tradition, problematize the very desire of embedding civil society in indigenous value systems. This frictional encounter demonstrates that the concept of civil society has assumed importance as a non-state social space in the Pakhtun society.

To manifest itself, this frictional encounter is expressed clearly, by our respondents, at the empirical level, in two different but overlapping accounts i.e. referential and at the discourse level. At the referential level, respondents' make references to NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) in which NGOs are either criticized or defended by them, depending upon their respective

[13] It means an unbounded space with specific social character and, which lies outside the state structure. Such a usage is inspired by Gramscian perspective of civil society as an arena of cultural reproduction and social-identity formation.

backgrounds and worldviews. At the discourse level, respondents' narratives of 'peace' and 'violence' also exhibit the tension between change and resistance to change, in which both adversarial forces tend to retain a cultural identity.

As most of these references were either directed against women's NGOs or emanated from women's NGOs, therefore, in order to understand this frictional encounter better this thesis has given particular importance to the women's voices in Peshawar. Women's voices not only spell out this encounter better but are also helpful in drawing our attention to the latent forms of violence, whereby masculinity seems to limit the prospects of 'emergent civil society'. Our women respondents, then present different perspectives on NGOs and reveal their distinct approaches to 'peace' and 'violence', which tend to be more gendered in essence.

Some male respondents see local traditional and religious perspectives as important sources of civility and peace that inform sociability amongst the Pakhtun. They refer to and count a number of informal[14] associations as important examples of local structures that promote peace and civility within society. Besides quoting examples of indigenous mechanisms that maintain internal social order, they also count norms and values both from Pakhtunwali and Islam, which sustain internal social order.

Women, on the other hand question and challenge men's description of civility and peace. Dismissing it as too narrow and partial, they argue that such immanent worldviews is predominantly masculine in character. They fear that if

[14] 'Informal' according to our respondents means the unregistered networks for instance Hujra (public/community centre), Jirga (Council of elders), shrines etc.

civil society in Peshawar is indigenized in such a masculine worldview, then the entire concept of civil society will be contested as it may sustain biases against women. They, however, do not wish to dismantle the entire approach to indigenize civil society and instead attempt to modify it by injecting their voices. In other words, they express a desire to retain their cultural identity, but resist the tendency amongst men to preserve tradition because the latter, according to them, marginalises women and takes their voices away. Thus the contested discourse around 'rights' creates tension between tradition and cultural change, between structure and agency.

For women to construct non-violent interactions amongst different members of the society, hyper masculinity has to be unveiled and rejected. It is precisely here that women's voices present a feminist dimension of the notion of civil society. For instance, women respondents emphasise the inclusion of family or the private sphere within civil society because, according to them, the exclusion of family from civil society will hide an important site of women's subjugation in the Pakhtun society. They, however, also argue, at the same time, that women's associations within the non-state social space in Peshawar has enabled them to pursue their struggle of achieving better status for the Pakhtun women. Thus blurring the boundaries between civil society as a distinct sphere from family, as perceived within the mainstream liberal conception of civil society, emerges as an important feature of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

This frictional encounter gathers its initial momentum around the very idea of NGOs. The 'emergent civil society' needs to be indigenized within the Pakhtun society rather than informed by the perceived agenda of NGOs alone, as male

traditionalists argue. The women argue that such NGOs are important spaces to secure women's rights in a masculine society and the agenda of women's rights must be a part of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

The discussion about NGOs provides the initial empirical instance and evidence of the pressure that is built between the forces of masculinity, structure or tradition and cultural change and agency. Tensions between them, however, assume more frictional form when several questions were asked about 'violence' and 'peace' (civility) from all respondents involved in our research.

Words and phrases such as 'peace', 'non-violence', 'tolerance', 'peaceful social order', 'respecting differences', 'democratic behaviour', 'collectivism', 'self-help', and 'a deep sense of security' were frequently used by male respondents while describing peace. The male respondents' perception of 'peace' is inspired by local cultural and religious perspectives and serves as a direct contrast to the violent extremism that is seen by them as the product of certain political and social conditions that prevailed in Pakistan since the 1980s. For them, the sources of violence are external whereas that of peace are internal. By external sources they mean that the phenomenon of religious violence in KP and other parts of Pakistan is not an indigenous, organic phenomenon, rather it is imported and imposed on the Pakhtun community.

Perhaps it might have been an important conclusion of our thesis that the celebration of local cultural identity means an automatic arrival of 'peace' if we had not explored women's voices on similar issues. Underpinned by a masculine mindset and utopian in character, 'peace' and 'violence' seem to be a 'man's job'.

Women reformists challenge this perception of 'violence' and 'peace' as offered by men.

Stretching the definitional spectrum of violence as offered by men, women-reformists emphasise more the internally situated layers of violence. For them latent violence, lying deep within certain norms and social structures of Pakhtun culture, mainly Pakhtun male honour and badal (revenge) deeply impact their conditions and interactions. Such masculine norms and structures weaken their (the Pakhtun men's) capacity to imagine and create a society based on tolerance and respect for all members of society, irrespective of their social status and gender backgrounds. Such feminine voices bring an extra dimension to the very conception of peace as propagated by male respondents. More gendered in outlook, it exposes the partiality of the conception of peace offered by males, which seem to sustain the social division between men and women. With men the sources of violence lie outside Pakhtun culture, whereas women draw attention to the inward sources of violence. With men the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar may be inspired by local traditional and religious perspectives whereas for women the 'emergent civil society' must include the voices of women.

This develops the dilemma of whether the discourse of civil society has to be indigenized within the organic sources as proposed by different clusters of our respondents or it has to embrace a strain of women's rights. Thus the argument of the male traditionalist and religionists, with an emphasis on the organic value systems only, seems to be challenged by the women reformists as explored in chapter 5.

However, women-reformists do not negate the argument that emerges from our thesis that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar is attempting to assume a local cultural persona. Women respondents also quote cultural and religious perspectives to support their argument. For instance, they refer to different sources in Islam to advocate for a more respectful status of women. Nevertheless, the conservatives' tendency of holding on to certain norms and structures, which seem to sustain hyper masculinity, and women's rejection of such norms and structures seem to hinder the potential flourishing of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. It is these contestations and clashes between different perspectives, which demonstrate, at an empirical level, that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar is inclined towards the 'alternative' discourse of civil society and seems to diverge from the mainstream 'liberal' model of civil society. Embedded in such discourse is a tendency amongst the participants of this research in which they blur the boundaries of civil society from other spheres, such as family and count associations and networks, which are informed by local cultural perspectives, such as religion and kinship. Such an approach challenges the gender baises and liberal assumptions of the mainstream 'liberal' civil society.

The 'emergent civil society' in its pursuit of an indigenous persona and organic character, in addition to the frictional encounter between cultural change and masculine forces, also experiences a new friction with religious orthodoxy. To imagine and advocate for a peaceful, non-violent society, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar resists violent extremism and religious orthodox forces. Rejecting violent extremism and grappling with religious orthodox forces within the non-state social space, the 'emergent civil society' opposes violence and the

threat of violent extremism. This peace-oriented struggle has assumed an associational form, amidst violence, in the post 9/11 period in Peshawar as a number of associations have emerged in Peshawar in the name of 'peace' against violence. It is 'emergent civil society's engagement with the peace struggle in Peshawar, which comes into tension with the orthodox forces, present in the non-state social space, and with the central state, which is accused of supporting such forces.

The peace struggle assumes a reflexive dimension when voices of peace try to embed peace consciousness within local cultural history by quoting instances and norms of peace from Pakhtun and Islamic history. Such a peace discourse, not only rejects violent extremism incurred by the Taliban, but also stands up against religious fundamentalism, which is perceived to be the product of certain political and social conditions in Pakistan. Associations, engaged in peace work in Peshawar, are attempting to reach out to common people in order to enable them to reflect on the origin of violent extremism in the region and understand that the Pakhtun society was a peaceful society in the past. By doing so, these associations are trying to construct the narrative of peace. Seeking a religiously plural society, free from the threat of violent extremism and the threat of superimposition of a single fundamental religious world view, peace consciousness, then, comes into tension with religious orthodoxy that was allowed to flourish by the state in the non-state social space at the cost of secular and plural voices.

Peace discourse, however, also comes into tension with the state that is seen as an important player in the conflict in the region since the 1980s. Demonstrating

criticality, the 'emergent civil society's' criticism of the state is strongly focused on the state's role in the encouragement of religious forces. However, criticism of the state is not restricted to the state's alleged involvement in the regional conflict, but spins around the very idea of the state as a democratic, responsive institution. The state's failure to implement citizenship, ensure social justice and lack of democratic culture in the state's institutions are pointed out as key issues. It also holds the state accountable for using religion in an extremist form, which deteriorated the former moderate form of religion amongst the Pakhtun.

Thus the 'emergent civil society's' frictional encounters with the antithetical forces demonstrate, at the empirical level, that the 'emergent civil society' criticizes such forces and grapple with them. For instance, a large number of seminars, conferences, talk shows, and protests were held, by different associations based in Peshawar, to denounce religious extremism. Women's associations, in particular, have been challenging hyper masculinity. However, criticism of such forces is also accompanied by 'emergent civil society's' tendency to look towards the state, whereby the state is pressurized to deal with such antithetical forces and provide favourable conditions for the 'emergent civil society' to continue its peace-struggle. Nevertheless, our data reveal that the 'emergent civil society's' internal issues, such as the charges of corruption, and mismanagement within civil society and the distance between 'formal'[15] and 'informal' civil society, also need immediate focus and attention. It is suggested, here, that engagement with these internal issues may need in-depth reflections and a serious effort by the 'emergent civil society'. Such an

[15] By 'formal' we mean a registered association such as an NGO and by 'informal' we mean unregistered associations such as Jirga, as explained in the first Chapter.

effort may improve its image at the public level and enhance the prospects of building peace.

Use of 'civil society', the theoretical challenge of 'modularity' and a potential research contribution

This thesis analyses the peace-oriented struggle of the Pakhtun that rejects violence and advocates peace and non-violence. The peace-oriented struggle in Peshawar is akin in some aspects to the Western concept of civil society because this struggle, which is oriented towards peace and civility, is taking place within the non-state social space in Peshawar and has taken an associational form. Thus to analyse the peace-oriented struggle, this thesis deploys the Western concept of civil society. However, to invoke a Western concept in a non-Western context generates certain challenges as given below.

There are different contested versions of civil society rooted in the Western intellectual milieu. Some writers, such as Howell & Pearce (2002) and Chambers & Kymlicka (2002) have tried to use the terms, 'liberal' and 'alternative' as conceptual shorthand to render the diverse discourse of civil society. However, both these terms lack conceptual coherence and are used as 'ideal types' to manifest key distinctions between the two approaches. While the 'liberal' approach is predominantly oriented towards liberal individualism and 'partnership... among civil society, the market and the state', the 'alternative' approach is oriented towards criticality and 'seek to show the embedded power relationships and inequalities' at societal level (Howell & Pearce, 2002: 17). The 'alternative' approach is focused more on 'other set of values and priorities' (Howell & Pearce, 2002: 17) or what Chambers & Kymlicka (2002: 2) call

'traditions other than mainstream liberal ones'. It is, however, the 'alternative' discourse of civil society, which has been recently used to critique the 'liberal' civil society to open up ways in which the 'alternative' idea could be explored in non Western contexts. It is this 'alternative' perspective of civil society, which has been recently revisited in alternative traditions such as Islam (Hanafi, 2002), Judaism (Stone, 2002) and Christianity (Banner, 2002).

While Howell & Pearce's (2002) deployment of 'alternative civil society' is focused on the contrast between capitalist and non-capitalist world, Chambers & Kymlicka (2002) are more interested to use the term in non-Western alternative traditions and explore whether the discourse of civil society prevails in such traditions. In the notion of ethical pluralism as the basis of their argument, they provide the basis for the argument that civil society cannot be reduced to one variant in the liberal tradition. Chambers & Kymlicka (2002) usage of 'alternative civil society', as used in this thesis, is inspired by insights form Gramsci, Habermas, critical theory and feminism, women voices in particular as explored in chapter1.

While the discourse of civil society cannot be dichotomized as 'liberal' and 'alternative' as both perspectives have similar and dissimilar points (Hann, 1996), the 'liberal' perspective is supported by strong theoretical traditions unlike the 'alternative' approach. Being more theoretically developed, the 'liberal' version, which is in ascendance at present also, offers an explicit challenge to the very applicability of the term in the non-Western context.

The concept of 'modularity', for instance, as the work of Ernest Gellner delineates the liberal concept of civil society, seems to problematize the

application of civil society in Peshawar. A 'modular' man, according to Gellner (1996), is freed from the ascriptive identities, pre-defined obligations and roles and is equipped with the right to enter and exit, voluntarily, any association without any fear. In other words, a modular man is not withheld by his particular background, such as ethnic or religious. Only a 'modular' man can build civil society, Gellner posits. He equates any pre-defined value-system, whether religious (Islam) or secular (Marxism) with tyranny and considers atomization as the natural destiny of human society, thereby, re-emphasizing the hope of classical enlightenment in which human society develops in a linear format i.e. from tribal, communal to open, liberal society. Unable to contribute to civility, the pre-defined value systems present suffocating human conditions, Gellner argues (1996).

Gellner (1996) refers to Islam, in particular, and states that Islam cannot help the Muslim community to form a civil society because it imposes a certain pre-defined worldview on its members. Such a proposition, then, challenges this thesis, which suggests that Pakhtun, having an ethnic and religious identity, show the tendency to construct a civil society from local traditional and religious perspectives. In our case, Pakhtunwali, Islam and to a certain extent human rights, as discussed above, are perceived by our respondents as alternative routes to construct a civil society of their own. While this thesis does not reject Gellner's argument completely, this thesis argues that it is not only marketization and individual liberalism per se, as suggested by Gellner, which may serve as the philosophical foundation of civil society. In other words, by focusing on the 'alternative' traditional and religious perspectives, the liberal assumptions of the mainstream 'liberal' model are criticized.

It is, however, recognized that it poses an important theoretical challenge to those researchers who intend to use the notion of civil society in the non-Western context as they may search deeper to examine the concept as embedded and rooted in their own respective traditions. Gellner's 'modularity', which is an ideal type rather than an analytical category and, which provides the philosophic foundation of 'liberal' civil society, encompassing certain economic, social and intellectual conditions as they prevailed in the West since the Enlightenment, draws a line between 'liberal' and 'alternative' civil societies as the 'alternative' conception of civil society draws on values other than 'those that came to predominate with the rise of capitalism' (Howell & Pearce, 2002: 31).

While this thesis challenges Gellner's argument and argues that there may be alternative routes to construct a civil society, this thesis also shows that the construction of civil society from within local tradition is also problematic. Such contested philosophic approaches have rarely been taken up in the literature on civil society in Pakistan. This encourages an investigation to search how an 'alternative' version of civil society in a given non-Western context creates an intellectual foundation from within immanent sources.

Studies on civil society in Pakistan seem to be focused more on the processes of state formation than civil society as a distinct sphere. The notion of civil society does not seem to be taking a centre stage and, thus, present us a different and, to a certain extent, confusing perception of civil society.

Not to mention the uncritical invocation of the term in popular media in Pakistan, some writers in Pakistan have conflated the term with everything that

is *not* the state (researcher's italics). The term has been used as broad analytical shorthand in opposition to the state (Malik, 1997; Rizvi, 2000) rendering the term 'extremely vague' (Interviewee No., 39). Some writers present Pakistani civil society in terms of binary oppositions, 'civil' and 'uncivil', and dichotomised between 'liberal, modern, urban based NGOs' and 'Islamic civil society' (Zaidi, 2006: 356-357) without elaborating why a specific section is civil and the other uncivil. Some, in addition to urban based NGOs, broaden the spectrum of civil society and include kinship-informed associations (Qadeer, 1997) without illuminating their respective worldviews and potential conflict between them. Some are interested in the visible form of civil society and, thus, use De Tocqueville's perspective of civil society as an associational realm (Spurk, 2010), which is also frequently used by Western donors working in the developing world (Lewis, 2001). Such usage, however, in the context of Pakistan tends to count civil society organizations (CSOs) at the urban level and counterpoise them to associations, informed by religion (Danish, 2005). Others, while identifying potential conflicts between different world views that inform civil society in Pakistan, focus on the evaluation of urban based NGOs alone (Baig, 2001).

While providing useful secondary data and some, such as Baig (2001) and Danish (2005) raise highly important questions, yet researchers interested to know why and how a Western specific notion would resonate in an entirely different context finds these scarce studies less helpful. Perhaps, it is important to ask questions such as: do these studies imply that civil society in Pakistan has either emerged from amongst the same conditions that Gellner identifies as the essential pre-requisites or that is moving towards Gellner's view of what

constitutes a civil society? In the contemporary debate of civil society in Pakistan, the conceptual and metaphysical aspect of civil society is missing. This thesis offers an exploration of these aspects as one of its main contributions to the debate.

Pasha (2001), for instance, refers to Gellner's 'modularity' and dismisses it as a mistaken approach, but does not elaborate further that if it is not to be the liberal individualism then what could become the philosophical foundation of civil society in Pakistan. Pakistan is not only predominantly a Muslim country, but is an ethnically heterogeneous society also. In their emphasis on the urban based NGOs or the clash between Islam and liberal civil society in Pakistan, such studies seem to present an incomplete picture of civil society by ignoring important tensions between different worldviews.

A prime focus on NGOs alone, which most of the Pakistani literature on civil society focus on, may generate an impoverished understating of the term (Beckman, 1997). Concerned more with civil society, democracy, and the state, none of these studies either focus on civil society in Peshawar or tend to evaluate civil society's potential role in building peace amidst violence. On the other hand, by paying minimum attention to the 'complexities and contingencies of real cultures and societies' (Fowler, 1996; Edwards, 2013: 4) in Pakistan while importing and applying the term, the potential contribution of these studies to the theory of civil society raise serious methodological concerns.

Methodologically rigorous research undertaking was, thus, needed to fill the gap by grappling with the very notion of civil society as the term emerged in the

West while exploring the internal complexities of our context. For this research, Peshawar, the capital of KP was chosen as my field work where registered associations can be accessed directly. Being an important urban centre, I hoped to find large, but diverse sets of respondents to explore the non-state social space in Peshawar, from where associations emerge and where the opportunities of peacebuilding norms and values may be examined. However, due to insecure conditions in KP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)[16], Peshawar seemed the only safe city for my field work. I was also aware that some women's associations operate in different parts of KP. Thus to approach women for interviews, the city of Peshawar seemed the only right choice. It is, precisely, women's voices that, ultimately, influenced this thesis.

This thesis builds its argument by exploring and grappling with the 'liberal' conception of the term that is in ascendance at present (Fowler, 2001). The rationale for focusing on the liberal conception of the term is that it directly challenges the import of the term in our context that has not experienced marketization and liberalism, the way they emerged and permeated the social, political and economic spheres in the West. However, a close focus on the 'liberal' conception of civil society is also accompanied by critiquing its liberal assumptions to find a way of using civil society to open up the analysis of the phenomenon in non Western contexts, which the scarce literature on Pakistan civil society seems to miss.

For this, this thesis focuses on Ernest Gellner's conception of modularity that presents one of the most articulated expressions of 'liberal' civil society. On the

[16] KP is the north-western province of Pakistan.

one hand, we have 'modular man' freed from ascriptive identities, able to enter and exit any association at his free choice (Sunar, 1997). On the other hand, we have the Pakhtun, immersed in ascriptive identities, and who value bonds informed by kinship and religion. The Pakhtun, locked in cousinly relationships may be bound by tradition and thus unable to build a civil world. Gellner's ethnocentric conception of civil society offers bleak prospects to import the notion of civil society in an entirely different context as the preconditions that led to the birth of modular man do not exist (Fowler, 2001). It is this tension between the modularity or individual liberalism and local cultural perspectives that most of the above studies on Pakistani civil society fail to address in detail.

By grappling with the Gellnerian challenge this thesis does not only intend to fill an important gap in the literature on civil society in Pakistan, but also makes an attempt to show the possibility of imagining civil society within an alternative social order rather than a liberal one.

Research questions

To analyse and assess the peace-oriented struggle in Peshawar, which has emerged amidst violence and, which has assumed an associational form outside the state structure in the non-state social space, the following main research question was designed.

Can civil society contribute to peacebuilding amidst violence in Peshawar?

However, some sub-questions, as given below, were also formulated to help us answer the prime research question of this thesis.

What does civil society mean and what ideas of civil society resonate in the non-Western contexts?

What is the social and political context of our case study?

What is the character of the peace struggle and how it is pursued by various actors and associations in Peshawar?

What are the potential limitations, which can impact upon the peace-oriented struggle in Peshawar?

Potential contribution of the research

This thesis also seeks to make a contribution by drawing attention to peace voices in the region amidst violence that seem to have been overshadowed by a number of factors. Perhaps, at this point, it may be pertinent to state why this research was undertaken in the first place. The genesis of this research can be understood at two levels: personal and contextual.

The genesis of this thesis lies deep within the researcher's personal experiences of living amongst the Pakhtun, where violence between male Pakhtuns and by male Pakhtun against women was justified in the name of culture and Pakhtun honour. The presence of conflict-resolution mechanism (Jirga) and norms and values aiming at trust and peaceful behaviour presented a contrasting picture to the violence amongst the Pakhtun. The researcher was also personally aware of the Non-violent Movement in the 1920s amongst the Pakhtun that was inspired by immanent religious and cultural sources (Banerjee, 2000). The desire to understand tendencies of violence and non-violence amongst the Pakhtun, acted as my initial research inspiration that needed a systematic understanding.

However, it was the post 9/11 context in KP that motivated this research undertaking. People in KP saw the rise of brutal violence that was never experienced in the past as the Taliban emerged in FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area) and the Swat Valley[17]. As violent extremism rose in the scale in the post 9/11 context, the entire Pakistani society was perceived to be receptive to militant ideals as Fair et al. (2010) discusses. With the rise and spread of violence in KP, the researcher noticed that non-state individuals were engaged not only in Peshawar but also in the Swat Valley in establishing collective forums to contribute to peace building amidst violence that included Peace Jirga, Pakhtun Peace Forum, Pakhtun Aman (peace) Jirga, Aman Tehreek (Peace Movement)[18], and Aryana Institute of Regional Research and Advocacy (AIRRA). The researcher attended a large number of seminars, conferences, formal and informal gatherings being held in Peshawar and other parts of KP aimed at peace building. The word 'Aman' (literally meaning 'Peace' in Pakhtu language) became popular and entered community discourse during the same period. This 'peace consciousness' that rejected violence and emanated from amongst ordinary people needed an investigation and empirical understanding.

The Taliban's violence was clearly overshadowing these voices emanating from these forums and instead led to the emergence of crude journalistic analysis of the presence of a warrior culture amongst the Pakhtun and the Taliban's violence was seen as a Pakhtun phenomenon (Levian, 2010; Chishti, 2012). The importance of drawing attention to these other Pakhtun voices was felt

[17] See Appendix C.
[18] 'Aman Tehreek' was established in March 2009 in Peshawar, which was a loose network of about 40 associations based in Peshawar.

immensely important by the researcher because these were the voices of the people who are historically labelled as warrior-like and prone to violence.

Easwaran (1999: 17-18), for instance, mentions that the Pakhtuns have been depicted by historians as 'brute', 'uncivilized', 'cruel as a leopard' 'treacherous murderer' whose hands are stained with the blood of his kin and for whom badal (revenge) is the only way of securing his honour. Pakhtun living in FATA are, specially, branded as 'fiercely autonomous' (Hussain, 2007:143) or 'too unruly to be governed' (Dogar, 2009:10 cited by Farhat Taj, 2012: 11-12).

Some have gone a step further as Anatol Levian (2011) asserts that the Taliban is a 'Pathan[19] phenomenon, with deep roots in Pathan history and culture' (p: 377). He further claims that '…in trying to create a strict Sharia-based system in the Pathan areas, the Taliban are not trying to impose something completely new. They are trying to develop something partly new out of elements that were old indeed' (p: 373-74).

There was, perhaps, a need to draw attention to the invisible voices of peace emanating from the same region and from amongst the same people, where violence was in consistent ascendance. Also, it was felt by the researcher to explore and analyse: to what extent these voices of peace can contribute to peacebuilding.

Thus, this thesis seeks to make a contribution not only by challenging Gellner's perception that ascriptive people are unable to build a civil world but also challenges certain stereotypes labelled against the Pakhtun. On the other hand, the burgeoning literature on the war on terror pays less or no attention to the

[19] Pathan is yet another word used in exchange for Pakhtun.

potential role of civil society in building peace (Paffenholz, 2010). This study, thus, seeks to make a contribution by focusing on the 'emergent civil society' potentiality to build peace in Peshawar.

Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 explores the conceptual framework of the term 'civil society' and explains how the term will be deployed within the context of Peshawar. It is argued that despite different versions of the discourse of civil society, it is the alternative perspective, which is applicable in the context of Peshawar. Chapter 2 presents the methodological framework, researcher's constructionist positionality and various ethical issues which were encountered during the field work.

Chapter 3 presents the social and cultural context of our case study and the empirical evidence of non-violent movement amongst the Pakhtun that serve as the foundation of our argument. Chapter 4 presents the political context of our case study. It presents the roots and nature of violent extremism in Peshawar and explores how it impacted upon the Pakhtun society. Chapters 5 and 6 present the core argument based on the analysis of empirical data collected in Peshawar. Chapter 7 concludes the summary of the entire thesis.

Key terms

This thesis frequently uses certain key terms, which are defined in the following section. However, these terms are explained, at appropriate places, in the thesis in different chapters.

Culture is deployed as 'a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (Williams, 1976: 57). Being a particular way of life, culture encompasses the entire past legacy and heritage of a given group, which includes arts and language, customs and rituals and moral values. Culture as such is learnt and shared and transmitted from generations to generations (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000; Morris, 2012). 'Culture... is inextricably linked with the social groupings and social institutions which constitute society at any given time and in any specific place' and 'requires and implies interactions between people, between groups of people and between institutions' and thus constantly evolve and change (Giles and Middleton, p: 31).

Tradition, closely related to culture, is perceived as 'The customs and practices held to have been handed down from generation to generation within a culture, or a particular instance of them. A tradition is often regarded as a cultural birthright' (Morris, 2012: 254). However, tradition, linked to an imagined or real past, is also constructed in specific conditions (Hobsbawm and Rangers, 1994).

Power is used both as an individual and collective phenomenon in this thesis. In both cases, it may be exercised in subtle ways by the powerful to set the agenda or norms for the powerless, which may limit the alternative views or the 'scope of decision-making' of others (Bacharch and Baratz cited by Haugaard, 2012: p: 30). Power may be institutionalised in traditional structures and within the social relations and, thus, 'inherited from the past' (Lukes 1984: 38). It is in this

sense, i.e. power as invisible and deeply embedded in social structures and relations, that the concept of power is deployed in this thesis.

Gender, in this thesis, refers to 'the social division between men and women' (Rahman & Jackson, 2011). Gender roles are learnt and reproduced within a specific cultural environment and encompasses the entire spectrum of 'social and cultural practices that go with the being labelled female or male' (Woodward, 2011: x).

CHAPTER 1

1. Civil Society in historical perspective and its potential resonance in Peshawar

1.1. Introduction

This thesis analyses the emergence of struggle for peace since 2006 in Pakhtun society, Pakistan, and whether they can be framed by the Western concept of 'civil society'. The empirical data, generated in the field in Peshawar, between March 2011 and May 2012, demonstrates that the Pakhtun society could be an important source of peacebuilding outside the state structure. However, this peace oriented struggle is only taking place within certain sections in the Pakhtun society, which stand in opposition to the state and some conservative sections within the same society. As this peace-oriented struggle has taken an associational form, which is taking place outside state structure, this thesis applies, conceptually, the Western notion of civil society to explore, examine and evaluate this struggle.

However, to invoke the concept of civil society and apply it in a non-western context is not without problems. On the one hand, we have the Pakthun culture, imbued with traditional and religious perspectives, which inform Pakhtuns' worldviews and their interactions and on the other hand, we have the concept of civil society that originated in the secular West and, which does not have a singular designation rather different ideas of civil exist, as this chapter will

demonstrate in detail. As the concept of civil society has a central position in this thesis, the aim of this chapter is to unpack the contested discourse of civil society and explore which ideas of civil society resonate in our context.

It is argued in this chapter that different theoretical traditions inform 'liberal' and 'alternative'[20] approaches to civil society. Certain theoretical threads dominate the discourse of the 'liberal' approach, such as the importance of commercial activities, bourgeoisie, the liberal market economy, and individual liberalism whereas civil society as the battleground of contested ideas, cultural reproduction, identity formation and unequal power relations emerge more clearly in the 'alternative' approach to civil society. The 'alternative' version of civil society, unlike the liberal model, does not necessarily perceive individual liberalism or liberal market economy as the essential pre-conditions of civil society. Being inspired by insights from Gramsci, critical theory and feminism[21], women's voices in particular, the 'alternative' version of civil society critique the gender biases and the liberal assumptions of 'liberal' approach to find a way of using civil society to open up the analysis of the phenomenon in non Western contexts, such as Islam.

By exploring these key themes, this chapter is generate the conceptual framework of 'alternative' approach to civil society, which can be used not only to reflect the character of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar but can also be used as a critique of the 'liberal' model in this thesis.

[20] None of these two approaches are theoretically coherent rather are informed by a number of distinct theoretical threads,as this chapter will demonstrate in the coming sections. This thesis also does not dichotomise the entire debate of civil society into 'liberal' and 'alternative' as these two approaches overlap. However, certain key distinctions still prevail.
[21] Feminism is used here not as a particular reference to a specific feminist school of thought or feminist movement rather women's rights and their voices.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Section 1, starts its discussion by mentioning the wide embrace of civil society by thinkers, practitioners who belong to opposing theoretical traditions. To grapple with this confusion, section 2 shows that civil society, as a concept, has a contested history and has been informed by various theoretical traditions. The discourse of civil society emerged in the post-enlightenment conditions, mainly influenced by the rise of commercial activities, liberal economy and liberalism, which contributed to the rise of liberal, but 'gendered' concept of civil society in the West, as it failed to challenge the social division between men and women. Being reduced to a bourgeois society by Marx, it was inherited by Post-Marxists and the term, was revisited within a different theoretical tradition, attaining non-liberal features. Under Gramsci's influence, the concept of civil society found a new ideological and cultural perspective, which some experts perceive as the nemesis of an alternative approach to civil society (Howell & Pearce, 2002). Rather than seeing civil society and human agency, in particular, as merely an outcome of market forces or reducing it to liberal individualism, Gramsci perceived it as an arena of power struggle, in which power operates in subtle ways and limit the 'scope of decision-making' of others and lead to the marginalisation of certain groups.

While Gramsci perceived civil society as an arena of power struggle, writers of a later period, such as Habermas, conceived it as an arena of communicative interactions. Applying Habermasian perspective of communication theory on civil society as an arena of dialogics, an important diversion of alternative conception of civil society occurs, from that of liberal conception, as the former emphasise the 'communicative autonomy' rather than 'voluntarism'. According

to critical perspectives of civil society, civil society will guard its right of communicative autonomy and the right to construct shared cultural meanings about the common good. This section also mentions that the idea of civil society as a public sphere of communicative interaction, as presented by Habermas, has been criticized by feminists as it does not seem to focus on power, which may operate in subtle ways.

Section 3 shows how the ambiguities that surround the very notion have led some writers to divide the discourse of civil soicety, at the theoretical level, into 'liberal' and 'alternative' approaches. This section explores why the liberal conception of civil society is in ascendance at present and explores two reasons: first, the discourse of civil society was soon overtaken by the so-called triumph of liberal economy and democracy in the early 1990s; and second, alternative non-Western traditions are not thoroughly investigated to explore whether or not ideas of civil society exist. However, both perspectives still seem problematic for this thesis as both 'liberal' and 'alternative' discourses originated in the secular West. As non-Western contexts are imbued with religious and local cultural worldviews rather than liberal individualism, the 'alternative' discourse of civil society has been, recently, revisited in other non-Western traditions such as Islam, Judaism and Confucianism. It is argued in this section that the 'alternative' discourse of civil society seems a pertinent analytical tool as it allows us to categorise and analyse the peace-oriented struggle that is taking place in a context, which is imbued with local cultural and religious worldviews.

Section 4, in this chapter, deals with the contested debate of boundaries and shows how an 'alternative' discourse of civil society, which does not overemphasize the boundaries of civil society from family, market and the state may serve the purpose of this thesis. Mainly focused on the private/public spheres, feminists find little attraction in the idea of civil society as an associational realm or a public sphere between family, market and the state. For them, the inclusion of private sphere or family is of extreme importance. To resolve this tension, some feminists have espoused critical thinkers' argument that the boundary-debate of 'liberal' civil society is too narrow to be accepted and, instead, have suggested that civil society may be considered as a realm that exists between an individual and the state. Nonetheless, this chapter also argues that feminism per se may not need 'liberal' or 'alternative' discourses of civil society to draw attention to the feminist struggle in a given context. However, our context in Peshawar also demonstrates a peace-oriented struggle, which has distinct feminist features. This section also sheds light on how feminists may revisit the entire conception of civil society and contest the debate of boundaries by identifying family as an important part of civil society. It is, therefore, argued that the conceptual discourse of 'alternative' version of civil society, informed by a feminist understanding, is a conceptual framework, which may resonate in our context as well.

Section 5 defines civil society as deployed in this thesis as a non-state socials pace, informed by competing perspectives, which are inspired by local traditional and religious worldviews. Giving a brief outline of different usages of civil society, section five presents two different but overlapping approaches to civil society that have been invoked in this thesis: spatial, which blurs the

boundaries of civil society from family and the market. It also helps us stretch the term beyond formal, registered association, to include informal networks and groups in civil society; and normative, in which the sources of civility are searched in local cultural and religious perspectives; and reflexive, which shows the agency of non-state civic actors for social and cultural change. However, these multiple deployments of the term in our thesis is based on and informed by the empirical data as we will show, in detail, in chapter 5 and 6.

While these two usages of the term may be helpful, they may sound abstract. Therefore, section 6 of this chapter also presents how this thesis has made an attempt to operationalize the alternative conception of civil society in order to analyse the empirical civil society in Peshawar that served the basis of this thesis. The objective of this section is to show, at an empirical level, how and where respondents have tried to locate and embed civil society in Peshawar. The idioms of 'formal' and informal' are used in this thesis, which explain the empirical forms of various associations and networks, which operate within the non-state social space, as explained in this section. This section provides the sociological background and features of both formal and informal networks in Peshawar. It may be reiterated, here, that the usage of these two terms is based on the arguments of the respondents, as they attempt to indigenize the concept of civil society within immanent sources.

1.2. Celebrating the New Avatar[22] of civil society

The term, civil society, has experienced a few spells of hibernation since its birth in the Greek and Roman political thought. The 18th century European political

[22] The term 'new avatar' is borrowed from Mustapha K Pasha (2005).

thought resurrected it, after its prolong disappearance for about 2000 years, in which it was perceived as an arena of free voluntary action and individual liberalism. The term found a new life when some Marxist thinkers, such as Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), assigned it non-liberal features, in early 20th century, thus, opening up an alternative route to imagine civil society. The experience of Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, however, played a key role in providing a new life to the notion of civil society (Chandhoke, 2013). Instantly, the term was considered a new brand of political change and a new hope for the South (Powell, 2013).

The discourse of civil society, since then, has captured the 'contemporary political imagination in place of state as the new avatar of development, democracy, and emancipation' (Pasha, 2005: 18). Considered as the 'ideal elixir to counter the ills of the contemporary world' (Chandoke, 2007: 609) and 'the cure of current ills' (Khilnani, 2001: 11) the concept has made a 'dramatic return' (Kaviraj & Khilnani, 2001: 1) and gathered 'momentum' (Baker, 2002: 1) since the 1990s.

The potential role of civil society is recognised at different social and political levels such as civil society can strengthen democracy and make development effective (Howell & Pearce, 2002), it can contribute to peacebuilding (Paffenholz, 2010) and it can explain the changing geometry of human relations in societies, post-colonial societies in particular (Kaviraj, 2001; Ehrenberg, 2013). The term was debated by thinkers, belonging to other intellectual traditions, such as critical theory and feminism while embraced by opposing political philosophies, whether 'globalizers' or 'anti-globalizers' (Pasha, 2005:

22), Liberals, Conservatives, Leftists or Rightists (Seligman, 2002). The extension and application of the term in the Islamic world have also, recently, gained currency (Hanafi, 2002; Kazemi, 2002; Kelsay, 2002). The magnetic appeal has attracted the attention of aid donors to the global South, policy-makers, activists throughout the world (Alagappa, 2004).

Its wide embrace by thinkers, belonging to opposing intellectual traditions and its unreflective invocation, mainly by practitioners, led some to question the usefulness of the term, calling it a 'vapid phrase' (Kumar, 1992; Eric Hobsbawm cited by Alison Rooy 1998: 11; Mann, 2005). Ignoring both distinct intellectual traditions, which informed the term over a period of 2500 years and the internal contingencies of the context in which the notion is applied, renders the term confusing and contested (Cohen & Arato, 1994; Alagappa, 2004 Edwards, 2013).

Some argue that the debate of civil society has been dominated by 'mainstream' liberal discourse of civil society and has become 'narrow' (Chambers and Kymlicka, 2002: 2) as certain voices in the liberal camp, such as Ernest Gellner, present the liberal version as the only ideal type while rejecting the possibility to consider alternative perspectives as the potential philosophical foundation of civil society.

Civil society, as a concept, has a contested history, character and is not entirely without problems as a theoretical category, which needs to be clarified before it is invoked for a particular research project. In order to remove, as much as possible, the confusion that surrounds the term, this thesis grapples with the

theoretical debate about civil society, both liberal and alternative as given in the following section.

1.3. Civil society in historical perspective

Aristotle's (c. 324 BC) use of 'politike koinonia' for political society, which was later translated in Latin as 'societas civilis' by the Romans (Cohen & Arato, 1994: 84) implied that civil and political society are one integral unit (Keane, 1988a). Following his predecessor, Plato (c. 427), Aristotle was also concerned more with moral, political community and with the question of how to maintain a legal, political order. Aristotle's political society merged both society and the state into one unit. For him, the unity of civil and political society or polis, meant a specific political condition of order, generated by political participation of the citizens to ensure a 'just' society (Islamoglu, 2001: 1891). Amongst the Romans, the term 'societas civilis' was mentioned by Cicero (106-43 BC) as a political idiom, which potentially balanced unequal relations between different groups through law (Ehrenberg, 2013). Thus the term appeared first amongst the Greeks and the Romans thinkers, denoting a legal, moral, and political order. However, both Greeks and Romans thinkers were concerned, primarily, with the notion of polis, a stable political order, and the term was used to refer to the political community, locked in mutual cooperation, transcending individual interests. These writers of classical antiquity used the term without elaborating it, which referred to the political relationship of men and different forms of government.

It was this Aristotelian notion of 'political man', transcending the individual interests, which was to survive a long time in European political thought.

However, market-driven changes and the rise of liberalism, in 17th and 18th centuries Europe, led to a new approach to civil society as we will examine in the following section as a new individualized mind set emerged (Seligman 1996: 202-3), which overshadowed the Aristotelian notion of communitarian man. The post-17th century period in Europe, as a result, is perceived to be the most important formative phase of the concept of civil society.

In 17th and 18th century Europe, the advent of modernity, mainly in the form of commercial activities, the growth of a private economy, scientific advancement, the growing emphasis on human reason and other factors such as wars and colonial enterprise, played key roles in breaking the traditional and religiously informed socio-political order. Tradition and religion were perceived to be incompatible with the then-emerging dynamics of sociability that required individuals' freedom to associate as individuals rather than people that are locked in pre-defined social patterns such as kinship (Seligman, 2002: 14; Femia, 2001: 131).

Impersonal rather than personal, and informed by self interest rather than pre-defined obligations, duties and solidarity, new forms of social arrangements were triggered mainly by increasing commercial activities (Becker, 1994). A new distinct layer of sociability was emerging that ultimately caught the attention of the thinkers who perceived the classical concept of the state and society as a single unit, proposed by the Greeks thinkers, as less relevant (Keane, 1988a).

The rise of commerce in Europe was praised by many thinkers for its assumed virtues (Baker, 2002), such as John Locke (1632-1704), Montesquieu (1689-

1755), David Hume (1711-1776), Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), and Adam Smith (1723-1790). One such assumption, as expounded by Adam Ferguson in particular, was that the rising bourgeoisie will increasingly demand the protection of their commercial rights from the state. This in turn will contribute to the establishment of a legal order at the social level and will improve the status of rule of law. As the habitat was changing in certain parts of Europe and tradition and religion were losing ground to regulate people's interactions, thinkers of that age defended the rising commercial activities on the ground that it was reshaping the associative bonds amongst people on the newly emerging market-driven rules. Such bonds, oriented towards voluntary choices and impersonal sociability, as they assumed, would contribute to a new sense of civility or respect for each other as individuals (Becker, 1994; Khilnani, 2001).

The thinkers of the 18th century Europe assumed that although the emerging economic bonds are based on rational choices, yet they will create 'a sphere of non-instrumental human relations, governed by natural sympathy' (Khilnani, 2001: 20). This was something that the pre-commercial societies lacked and was the 'unintended' result of market-driven actions. The birth of civil society discourse in the post-Renaissance period in Europe was the result of such 'self-understanding' (Cohen & Arato, 1994) and 'self-reflexive thinking' (Kaviraj, 2001: 287) as a new public sphere was emerging (Habermas, 1996). While increasing commercial activities certainly played a key part in imagining civil society, other factors such as the growing importance of human reason, knowledge of other communities around the globe, which were mostly perceived as uncivilized (Goody, 2001) and persistent violence in some parts of Europe also played a role in conceptualizing civil society in Europe as an

important and distinct realm. It was this specific discourse of civility, civilised and civil society, 'which in the course of encounters with hitherto unknown regions of Asia and Americas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, became part of Europe's definition of itself as the domain of the civilised' (Islamoglu, 2001: 1983). However, commercial activities were identified as the main drivers of the new layers of sociability in Europe (Ehrenberg, 2013) and a source of stability (Becker, 1994). Referring to these moments of transition Joseph Femia (2001: 131) writes:

'The break with past traditions and custom, as the binding forces of society, engendered the search for new principles of moral unity. Because of the detachment of individual human beings from their defining social matrix, from the primordial givens of existence – kith, kin, membership in the Universal Church- there emerged a tendency to conceive people in terms of their humanity alone'.

Commercial activities were perceived to have 'unintended but benevolent moral effects' upon social relations in the 17th and 18th century Europe, more specifically during the Scottish enlightenment (Khilnani, 2001: 22; Howell & Pearce, 2002). One of the prominent figures of the Scottish enlightenment, Adam Ferguson (1767: 225), wrote while referring to the fruits of commercial activities:

'We may, with good reason, congratulate our species on their having escaped from a state of barbarous disorder and violence, into a state of domestic peace and regular policy'.

In other words, the market economy can possibly build a civil society by creating a bourgeoisie who will be interested in the rule of law to protect their rights and thus pressurize the state. This important theoretical strand that the bourgeoisie will create civil society was to be challenged, theoretically, in the early 20th century by Gramsci and by the empirical example of the rise of civil society in Eastern Europe against authoritarian regimes in 1990s.

However, writers of that age were also conscious that increased commercial activities have brought forth a new 'self' that is more individualized and prioritizes self-interests at the cost of community interests (Seligman, 2002: 17). This newly emerging 'self', conscious of individual rights and the freedom to act, informed by 'self' interest, may generate harmful implications for others and create conflicts. This was conceived as a potential threat by some (Baker, 2002) that may lead to conflicts. Thus, a legitimate political order or a state was perceived to be highly indispensable in guaranteeing the growth of civilization. Civilization for them[23] was the pursuit of commercial activities and the protection of individual rights of the commercial class. Such a state, however, has to be held accountable by the people to ensure their individual liberty (Dunn, 2001). This was the arrival of the liberal, secular concept of the state that was to guarantee individual rights while having limited power to intervene in people's affairs (Ehrenberg, 2013). On the other hand, prioritizing society over government and empowering individuals to hold the state accountable also added another theoretical strand to the liberal concept of civil society (Kaviraj, 2001: 292). However, the concept of civil society was not free from biases as it

[23] Writers of that age glamorized the economic activities that can guarantee the progress of civilization (Ehrenberg, 2013).

mainly referred to a particular white, male bourgeois class (Keane, 1988; Howell &Pearce 2002).

Seventeenth and Eighteenth century Europe presents a historical moment in which the concept of civil society finds its first articulated liberal expression (Becker, 1994). Using 'self-understanding' and reflexivity, the writers of that age relied on their own reasoning to understand the newly emerging bonds and the accompanying complexities rather than seeking a 'transcendental referent', for instance the Church (Habermas, 1996; Seligman, 2002: 15). Laying the foundation of the liberal concept of civil society and the liberal state, the writers of that age endeavored to understand the newly emerging regulative framework of interactions. This was the embryonic stage of the liberal concept of civil society in which liberal economy and liberalism were perceived important features of civil society. However, so far, the concept of civil society was interchangeably used for political society and the state in opposition to the state of nature (Femia, 2001). The concept of civil society entered the intellectual debate of the 18th century thought yet no one amongst the Scottish enlightenment, with the exception of Ferguson to a certain extent, can be credited with theorizing the concept (Oz-Salzberger, 2001).

Hegel (1770-1831) 'synthesized much of late-eighteenth-century thought on the subject' (Cohen & Arato, 1994: 89) as the concept of civil society received enormous attention in the Continental Europe intellectual milieu. For Hegel, civil society was a distinct realm from the state and family. Enabling people to socialize and integrate, civil society can also nurture poverty and inequality due to unrestrained commercial activities and thus needed a higher ethical body i.e.

the state. If Locke feared the encroachment of the state upon individual rights, then Hegel saw civil society's internal complexities and conflicts and expected the state to regulate it (Femia, 2001).

While European writers deployed the concept in the European context, some in the American context used it differently (Howell & Pearce, 2002). Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) needs special mentioning here because his concept seems to have attracted donors and international agencies working in the developing world since the second half of the 20th century. De Tocqueville's emphasis on the importance of associational life in America, which can possibly lead to democratize the state, strengthened further the liberal strand of civil society (Howell & Pearce, 2002). Laying emphasis on independent citizenry, his important contribution was his argument that not only the authoritarian state, but an elected government can also encroach upon the liberties of civil society, which civil society needs to guard (Rooy, 1998).[24]

Within the European intellectual context, the post-Hegelian perspective of civil society led to a new way of imagining the idea of civil society. However, the idea of civil society, initially, received a setback with Marx (1818-1883) as he was approached the term from a distinct set of preoccupations. Disagreeing with Hegel, Marx rejected the entire concept as the expression of a capitalist market economy that only serves the interest of the bourgeoisie (Kumar, 1992). Marx, while criticizing Hegel, seemed to have missed the Hegelian emphasis that civil

[24] Extending on de Tocqueville's emphasis on the importance of associational life, Robert Putnam, later in the 20th century, developed his concept of social capital that proposes that engagement and interactions at the associational level may build trust and social capital that may play a potential role in both liberal democracy and a market economy (Mustafa, 2005).

society may nurture conflicts also. However, Marx was more interested in class conflicts rather than conflicts based on individuals' interests and perceived civil society as a bourgeois-mask of class-conflicts (Howell & Pearce, 2002). Unlike liberal thinkers, Marx reduced civil society to a byproduct of unequal economic relations, a seat of exploitation and an arena of private property owners.

The pre-Hegelian thinkers of civil society employed the term in opposition to the state of nature and as synonymous to the rule of law. However, the gender roles, employed as culturally and socially reproduced roles and responsibilities between men and women (Walby, 2012) in this thesis, did not become part of the discourse of liberal civil society. As Hegel perceived the idea of civil society distinct from family, the liberal conception of civil society attained a more 'gendered' connotation (Phillips, 2002: 72). In other words, the notion of civil society emerged as a masculine concept where men were visible and powerful compared to women, who remained subjugated and invisible within private sphere i.e. family.

With the arrival of the 20th century, the liberal, but the gendered conception of civil society dominated the discussion amongst the European writers. Such a liberal discourse received further impetus in America under de Tocqueville in America. However, with Marx, the concept of civil society received a different treatment, which reduced the entire liberal conception of civil society to an arena of economic exploitation and a by-product of economic forces. Both these themes, that is, liberal and reductionist, received distinct attention from 20th century's writers. While Gramsci (1891-1937) rescued Marxist reductionism in the early 20th century, liberal strands were embraced and expanded, much later, by Robert Putnam in USA and Gellner in UK whereas Habermas introduced a

critical strand in the notion. Feminists, too, developed a specific feminist approach towards civil society as the concept became popular in 1990s.

After 100 years of hibernation the term re-emerged albeit in a different guise to that of 18th century voices in Continental Europe (Kean, 1988). Gramsci, writing in the early 20th century, reinvented the term by modifying Marxist reductionism (Howell & Pearce, 2002). For Gramsci, civil society is the ideological and cultural realm in which hegemonies are constructed and deconstructed through power struggle. For him, power, which permeates within civil society in subtle ways, 'resides in the production of ideas, not so much in the production of things' (Chambers, 2002: 90). The survival of capitalism, for him, was due to the construction of capitalist hegemony through civil society (Alagappa, 2004). Civil society, for Gramsci, is not a passive realm, but an agency that can generate and maintain a particular ideology and check the state's hegemony. However, the state can also build its own hegemony through civil society and create consent. Differing with Marx' limited critique of civil society, Gramsci did not consider it a passive structure to be determined by the forces of production. For him, civil society is a sphere in which the struggle to maintain or challenge a particular status quo occurs (Baker, 2002: 6). Contrary to other liberal thinkers of civil society of the 18th century Europe, Gramsci's concept of civil society had a cultural and sociological content, which some experts perceive as the nemesis of an alternative approach to civil society (Howell & Pearce, 2002). Rather than seeing civil society and human agency, in particular, as merely an outcome of market forces or reducing it to liberal individualism, Gramsci perceived it as an arena of power struggle between different groups who contend to establish their respective hegemonies. In other words, civil

society is the battleground of contested ideas. It was this specific Gramscian conception of civil society that was not only used by thinkers and activists in the Eastern Europe in 1980s to theorize their moment of struggle but is also reflected in our case study. Gramsci's links of the discourse of civil society with power, has implications for this thesis also as in our context power seems to operates in invisible forms and, which seems to have marginalised certain groups.

Power is used both as an individual and collective phenomenon in this thesis. At an individual level, it may be exercised in subtle ways by the powerful to set the agenda or norms for the powerless. Limiting the alternative views or the 'scope of decision-making' of others (Bacharch and Baratz cited by Haugaard, 2012: p: 30), the powerless, the marginalized or the poor have to take positions within such an agenda. However, this thesis does not restrict the concept of power to individual decision making, as it may be exercised by groups and institutions at the collective level. In such cases power is institutionalised and structured within the social relations and, thus, 'inherited from the past' (Lukes 1984: 38). It is in this sense, i.e. power as invisible and deeply embedded in social structures and relations that the concept of power is deployed in this thesis, which enlightens the struggle of cultural change as explored in chapter 5 and chapter 6.

Under Gramsci's influence, the concept of civil society found a new ideological and cultural perspective, and thus, the debate about civil society shifted, at the conceptual level, from the narrow Marxist perspective. So, as a result, civil society was also seen as a 'sphere of identity formation, social integration, and

cultural reproduction' (Chambers, 2002: 91). It was this perspective of civil society, inspired by Gramscian insights, which some writers, predisposed towards the Critical School of thinking, embraced and extended, which ultimately deviated from the mainstream liberal perspective as shown in the following section.

An important voice in this lineage is Habermas, who combined both the elements of the Frankfurt School of thinkers and that of Kantian liberalism as he conceived civil society as an important realm 'to mitigate the worst effects of liberalism' (Chambers, 2002: 92). Unlike the early critical thinkers such as Horkheimer and Adorno, who presented a more radical form of criticality by dismissing liberal institutions, with Habermas, we find an inside-out approach in which liberal institutions can be remedied and can still be used for human emancipation. While overall critical theory presents an immanent critique of the liberal ideals and institutions, it is a Habermasian theory of communication that helps us understand civil society better in a critical way (Baynes, 2002) in which people establish their validity claims in non-coercive ways using communication interactions. Habermas locates his argument in Western history and shows how the publics emerged in which issues related to public were discussed by the public in places such coffee shops, newspaper stalls and other associational connections and such debates were conducted in a non-coercive order. However, such a public sphere was soon consumed by the hegemonic influence of capitalism (Habermas, 1989).

Civil society, for Habermas, 'comprises those nongovernmental and noneconomic connections and voluntary associations that anchor the

communication structure of the public sphere...civil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organisations, and movements that, attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life spheres, distil and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the public sphere' (Habermas, 1996: 367).

Applying Habermasian perspective of communication theory on civil society as an arena of dialogics, an important diversion of alternative conception of civil society occurs, from that of the liberal conception, as the former emphasise 'communicative autonomy' rather than 'voluntarism'. 'Individuals do not develop life plans in isolation. They develop them in interaction with others in society. The freer that interaction is from the distorting effects of power and domination, the more opportunity actors have to explore and exercise individual autonomy' (Chambers, 2002: 93).

According to critical perspectives of civil society, civil society will guard its right of communicative autonomy and the right to construct shared cultural meanings about the common good, unlike the liberal view of civil society according to which it is the individual choice that needs to be guarded alone against any potential encroachment of the state or any other powerful group (Baynes, 2002; Chambers, 2002). However, Habermasian perspective of civil society is rooted in his liberal approach to 'reason', which has been criticised for being instrumental and less capable to evaluate ends (Nicholas, 2012). Reason, for some such as Alasdair MacIntyre (2012) is situated in the overall social argument of tradition and linked to the moral question of what is a good society. It is this specific Habermasian focus on dialogics and criticality that the

'emergent civil society' in Peshawar reflects, underpinned by an approach to reason that is constituted within the local traditional and religious perspectives, as explored in 6.

The idea of civil society as a public sphere of communicative interaction, as presented by Habermas, has been criticized by feminists, which is relevant to this thesis also as it does not seem to focus on power, which may operate in subtle ways. Nancy Fraser (1997) argues that Habermas's notion of discursive public sphere is not a bounded sphere and 'societal inequality' may inhabit such a sphere. Sub-public alternative discourses, as a result, may not find a space and voice in the mainstream public sphere. 'In that case members of subordinated groups would have no arenas for deliberations amongst themselves about their needs, objectives, and strategies. They would have no venues in which to undertake communicative processes that were not, as it were, under the supervision of dominant groups' (81). Besides feminists' take on the boundary debate, their identification of unequal power relations in civil society is of key relevance to this thesis as explored in chapters 5 and 6.

Such a non-liberal alternative perspective of civil society presents a contrast to the one articulated by Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) when he posited his conception of modularity[25] as the necessary pre-condition of civil society. The pre-Marx liberal strands of civil society were embraced and expanded by Gellner. Voluntarism, individual autonomy and a secular vision are some of the themes that Gellner weaves around his conception of civil society. Gellner, specifically, emphasises marketisation and individual liberalism as important

[25] See chapter 3 for further detail.

pre-conditions and pre-requisites of civil society, whereas kinship relations and pre-defined value system, whether religious (Islam) or secular (socialism), are perceived as antithetical to the very notion of civil society. Gellner's specific liberal notion of civil society is explored and analysed in chapter 3 as Gellner's liberal approach is relevant to this thesis.

Thus, this section discussed how different ideas of civil society, conceptualised as 'liberal' and 'alternative' exist in the intellectual discourse of civil society. Zeitgeist led to the construction of civil society in different epochs. However, the application of civil society in the non-Western context may not only experience tension with the liberal perspective of civil society, but a mild tension with the non-liberal alternative perspective also as both discourses are intellectually located within the secular tradition of the West whereas this thesis focuses on a context, which is imbued with a religious worldview and kinship models of interactions. The following section will explain how some experts have revisited the term in non-Western context, which is Islam.

1.4. The contested character of civil society: expanding the alternative approach

Some experts have attempted to clarify the ambiguities that surround the very notion by dividing the discourse of civil soicety, at the theoretical level, into 'liberal' and 'alternative' approaches (Roche, 1995; Howell & Pearce 2002; Alagappa, 2004). The 'liberal' conception of civil society informed by liberal individualism is perceived to be the 'support structure' (Baker, 2002: 1) and moderator of liberal democracy and liberal economy and thus perceived to be the natural ally of both (Howell & Pearce, 2002). Many voices in the 'alternative'

camp draw on different theoretical traditions, for instance Gramsci or critical theory, and stand in opposition to both the authoritarian state and capitalism (Chambers, 2002). If individual liberalism and a triangular relationship between civil society, the market and the state are the key features in the 'liberal' model, criticality and civil society as an arena of clashes between contested ideas, identity formation and cultural reproduction emerge important theoretical threads in the 'alternative' approach to civil society.

'Alternative' approach is focused more on 'other set of values and priorities' rather than liberal (Howell & Pearce, 2002: 17) and offers the possibility of exploring the phenomenon in the non-Western contexts. Despite relying on different theoretical traditions and historical experiences, the two paradigms have similar and dissimilar points also (Hann, 1996).

While both 'alternative' and 'liberal' approaches remain, conceptually, incoherent, the 'alternative' approach, unlike the 'liberal' approach, does not provide a complete structured framework of an alternative vision (Hann, 1996). Despite the ascendance of the liberal conception of civil society, at present (Edwards, 2013), 'alternative' approach has offered some resistance to the mainstream 'liberal' conception of civil society (Howell & Pearce, 2002).

Two reasons stand prominent, which led to the prevalence and dominance of the liberal conception of civil society. Firstly, despite the fact that the slogan of civil society was born in the non-liberal context of Eastern Europe in the 1990s, the discourse of civil society was soon overtaken by the so-called triumph of liberal economy and democracy as Fukuyama (1992) declared the end of history. Secondly, alternative non-Western traditions are not thoroughly

investigated to explore whether or not ideas of civil society exist. 'As a historical phenomenon as well as a theoretical concept, civil society is tied to the tide of liberalism, and... entails liberal presuppositions', such as 'societies can and should be differentiated into distinct spheres, each of which operates according to its own logic'. A 'liberal' perspective of civil society is implicitly recognised as the only dominant perspective of civil society, which 'creates an imbalance between traditions' (Chambers & Kymlicka, 2002: 5).

Some, such as Chambers & Kymlicka (2002), Banner (2002), Stone (2002), Kelsay (2002), Kazemi (2002) and Hanafi (2002) argue that other traditions such as Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Confucianism may also have the discourse of civility and civil society, albeit using different idioms and expressions. In other words, the alternative discourse, which refers to the Gramscian and post Gramscian intellectual thought on civil society, which is not anchored on liberal individualism, may take a further alternative turn if civil society is explored in a given context, imbued with religious and local cultural perspective rather than individual liberalism. As our context is predominantly imbued with a religious perspective and worldview whereas the contemporary debate surrounding civil society is almost entirely dominated by secular views (Chambers & Kymlicka, 2002), it may be pertinent to explore to what extent the 'alternative' term resonates in an Islamic tradition.

Hasan Hanafi (2002: 172) argues that despite being a Western term, 'most of its [civil society] key features may be found in Islamic ethical theory, and these features are slowly being realised in cultural contexts as different as the Moroccan and the Malaysian'. The concept of civil society has gained currency in

the modern Islamic world, mainly due to 'increases in literacy, especially among females; regular and major movement population within the region and abroad; increased use of different forms of electronic communication; and other similar factors' (Kazemi, 2002: 317). While both scholars argue that the concept of civil society is relevant to the Islamic world, despite its Western origin and identify the need to locate it within the Islamic sources to enhance its legitimacy, Hanafi argues that the discourse of civil society perceived as secular and Western in spirit, has extracted strong reactions from certain conservative sections within the Islamic community.

Hanafi (2002: 173-74), then, draws out a number of terms from Islamic history and theory such as '*nas* (italics in original), which could mean either a group of people or the whole human race', '*ahl al-kitab,* (italics in original) or "people of the Book," namely Jews and Christians who share with Muslims the revelation of Abraham', which shows that 'Islamic theory and practice sustains a number of legitimate human groupings existing between the state and the individual'. While Hanafi counts a number of normative principles and Islamic human rights to bridge the gap between the East and West, John Kelsay (2002) argues that Islamic societies, mainly due to the role of ulama, are oriented more towards retaining their Islamic identity and Islamic values rather than the liberal values as understood in the Western context. Unlike Gellner, none of these authors reject the possibility of the emergence of civil society in an Islamic context. However, they do point out that any such potential emergence would be predisposed towards immanent values. Thus, the debate of civil society, which once was 'Americanised' (Howell & Pearce, 2002: 39), is now Islamised.

It is this attempt to extend the alternative model, which comes into direct tension with the liberal model as propagated by Gellner, who identified Islam, in particular, as an important pre-defined value-system, which repulses any attempt to create a civil society as critically examined in chapter 3. Chapter 3 also presents a detailed theoretical debate of how the alternative version of civil society can be investigated in alternative traditions.

However, exploring the discourse of civil society in the Islamic world and in Pakistan, in particular, seems limited. Not much attention has been paid to which particular discourse of civil society is applicable in the context of Pakistan and what ideas of civil society already exist at the cultural level, which is the focus of this thesis also.

While different usages of the term and different theoretical approaches render the debate about civil society, enriching, it is extremely important to understand how this thesis will deploy the term. It was already pointed out in the Introduction that the impoverished usage of the term within the scarce literature on civil society in Pakistan has led to further ambiguity and the need to understand civil society was emphasised. However, this thesis does not, entirely, rely on the theoretical debate on civil society rather it takes into account ideas of civil society as expressed by participants of this research.

Before this thesis presents how the conception of civil society is deployed in this thesis, civil society's relation and distance from the state, market and family is of immense relevance to this thesis and needs to be discussed as the following section shows.

1.5. The state, family, market and civil society: the arrival of the troika

Civil society, in liberal debate, is conceived as a space situated between three important spheres that include the state, family and the market. It is these three spheres that help us define what civil society is and what is it not. The classic liberal debate mentioned above seems to suggest that civil society was conceived by thinkers such as Adam John Locke and Ferguson, in opposition to the state of nature but not in opposition to the state (Fukui, 2005). The question of civil society's boundaries from other spheres, however, became much clearer with Hegel, who perceived civil society as a differentiated intermediate realm between the 'state' and 'family'. This differentiation is still owned by liberal thinkers today who not only made this differentiation more pronounced, but also added 'market' as another point of differentiation, thus, slowly emerged the troika.

However, the debate of boundaries does not mean that different spheres are neatly segregated and are guarded by non-permeable boundaries. Instead, at an empirical level, a dialectical relationship between them may exist and different spheres may influence one another in more than one way yet the 'functional differentiation' between them remains a helpful point of defining civil society 'as the intermediate sphere different from all three institutional cornerstones of modern society' (Baubock, 2000: 92). The debate of boundaries, nonetheless, takes a few diversions within the alternative approach to civil society, which is relevant to our case study, as Rosenblum (2002) has also suggested that the question of boundaries, in particular, has immense importance for feminist

thinkers. In the following section, civil society's relation to the state, family and market is explored.

1.5.1. The state and civil society

Functionally, civil society is not part of the state because civil society does not aim to attain political power and instead is potentially regulated by the principles of self-organization and self-help (Baubock, 2000). Both 'liberal' and 'alternative' paradigms emphasize different dynamics of civil society-state relationship. Within the 'liberal' perspective, civil society is conceived as the moderator of the state powers and a sphere where the individual rights are protected against any potential encroachment from the state (Howell & Pearce, 2002). The alternative camp seems to adopt a more critical accent towards the state (Post & Rosenblum, 2002), which also emerges as an important feature of the 'emergent civil society' as explored in chapter 6. Rosenblum and Post (2002) argue that the relation of civil society and its boundaries and relation with the state are highly contested and vary from one theoretical and cultural tradition to another.

If civil society is functionally different from the state (Howell & Pearce 2002; Post & Rosenblum 2002), then the debate of boundaries between civil society and the state is problematic in our context. Participants of this research contend whether political parties be placed within civil society or outside. While some participants from Peshawar strongly suggested that political parties, being partisan, patrimonial and seeking state power, cannot be part of civil society which advocates the interests of the entire community irrespective of their political affiliations, others argued that the entire struggle of civic rights is

political in character and political parties are, thus, the mainstream civil society associations.

However, the contested debate of boundaries does not stop here. Does civil society need a legal, democratic state for its emergence and survival and, therefore, depends on it or civil society has the potential to self-create itself without any apparent assistance from the state and is, therefore, independent in nature (Post & Rosenblum 2002)? Liberals may quote the Western European experience, whereas the example of the Eastern Europe is quoted to support the latter. However, Post and Rosenblum (2002) argue that, both within liberal and alternative discourses of civil society, the state is expected to provide a legal framework and conditions of peace. State's responsibility to provide a legal and safe environment for civil society emerges as an important theme of this thesis as chapter 5 and 6 show in detail as participants pressurise the state to ensure the safety of its citizens and their respective rights. However, this has a specific political context, which we explore in chapter 4, wherein we explore how the Pakistani state intervenes and manipulates the Pakistani civil society.

1.5.2. The family and civil society

The same contention exists over the boundaries between family and civil society in the literature. According to the liberal argument 'family' is unable to accommodate the complexities of modern life. For liberals, family, being the basic unit of socialization, is the private realm (Fukui, 2005) where members are 'related by descent, marriage or adoption' (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000: 504). For them, family is the private arena of intimate relations 'from which others may be shut out and it carries expectations of solidarity and generalized

reciprocity among members' and where kinship may be more pronounced than other institutions and thus could be as coercive as the state (Baubock 2000: 93).

Others, who do not necessarily subscribe to the liberal perspective, include family within civil society. Both Critical theory tradition and Gramsci, for instance, included family in civil society 'because it is an institution that can be and usually is central in shaping the general political dispositions of citizens' and 'is a vehicle of culture and therefore of hegemony' (Chambers, 2002: 90-91). Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato (1992) also included family within civil society unlike the liberal perspective.

Within the alternative perspective of civil society, family is perceived as 'the premier mediating, moralizing institution (Post & Rosenblum, 2002: 3), which has the potential to shape the moral being of social individuals who later may find opportunities in the social realm to develop it and contribute to the overall solidarity of a given society. Thus, civil society originates in the private realm of household (Miller, 2002).

The debate, however, becomes extremely contentious if seen from a feminist perspective. For feminists, if family, as a sphere, is excluded from civil society, then it means that the entire idea of civil society may become a masculine affair. Irrespective of their different theoretical positioning, feminists emphasize the inclusion of family in civil society as an import site of women's struggles and assign family a 'central place' (Philips, 2002; Rosenblum, 2002: 153; Fukui 2005).

The feminist perspective on family-civil society's boundary is of extreme importance to this thesis as feminist voices emerge very clearly from our data as explored in chapter 5. These voices show a serious concern that family needs to be included within civil society because family is the prime site of women's repressions.

1.5.3. The market and civil society

Another important contention arises when one equates civil society with economic capitalism, which ignores the complex and problematic relation between them. As the above discussion shows that in the European history as the rise of commerce and new forms of economy emerged, new modes of social interactions surfaced, which replaced older forms of association and solidarity based on kinship, civil society was considered as the natural product and an integral component of a capitalist economy (Howell & Pearce, 2002: 72).

One of the reasons for this assumed co-relation was that the 18th century thinkers saw civil society, as no different from the market and glorified the so-called benevolent effects of economy on the civil society, which fed liberal thinking, later, with some placing 'productive and commercial organizations and networks, at the top' of the civil society list (Fukui, 2005: 18). However, 'civil society as a natural ally of capitalism' is challenged. The repressive regimes of Eastern Europe did not allow civil society to exist, but despite such repressions and even in the absence of a middle class or bourgeoisie, civil society emerged that offered resistance to the authoritarian regimes (Keane, 1998).

The rise of capitalism in some 'contemporary market regimes', such as East Asian countries in 1990s, demonstrates a different scenario where a tacit understanding between the state and the rising bourgeoisie prohibited the potential emergence of civil society (Howell & Pearce 2002: 74-75). The bourgeoisie and the state's convergence of vested interests can also be witnessed in the case of Pakistan as explored in chapter 4. Thus, to present the rise of commercial activities or bourgeoisie and civil society as co-related and to present market economy as the necessary condition of civil society is perceived as a simplistic approach (Keane, 1988).

While some liberals, such as Ernest Gellner, give enormous importance to marketization as the essential pre-condition for civil society, this thesis deviates from such liberal understanding of civil society-market relations. Chapter 3 shows in detail how a civic non-violent movement emerged amongst the Pakhtun in the early 20th century in the absence of marketization, which is frequently quoted by participants of this research as an example of civil society.

While this thesis recognizes the contested character of the term and its different usages in different contexts as the above sections show in detail, the following section outlines two different but overlapping deployments of the term in this thesis. However, it may be pertinent to start the following section with a definition of civil society as employed in this thesis. Again, the definition of civil society and its deployment in this thesis were not only informed by the literature review, as explored in this chapter, but also by our primary data, as presented in chapter 5 and 6.

1.6. How does this thesis deploy civil society in Peshawar?

Relying on Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato's (1992: 429) definition of civil society, who also embrace alternative critical discourse of civil society, civil society may be defined as *a non-state social space, which includes all formal and informal networks and associations, including family and social movements, which give impetus to communicative interaction, inspired by local traditional and religious perspectives* (Researcher's italics). According to this definition, civil society in Peshawar is composed of groups, such as family and kinship, which the liberal perspective dismisses as antithetical to the very conception of civil society. The communicative interaction is, however, imbued with unequal power relations.

It is argued here that it is important to draw out a comprehensive sketch of how this thesis is going to deploy the term, which may capture not only the normative, but also the empirical forms of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

It was mentioned that the confusion stems from the wide but very uncritical and unreflective invocation of the term when some authors, such as Ernest Gellner, chose a specific theoretical construction of the term and project it as the only universal route to construct a civil society. Therefore, the above discussion is an attempt to recognize that the notion, 'civil society', has a contested intellectual history and an in-depth awareness of its origin is important if the term is to be applied in a non-Western context. To create an explicit or an implicit impression that the term has a singular theoretical positionality may generate further

confusion not only about the term, but also when it is applied in the non-Western context.

However, the ambiguity around the term may also be because of different overlapping usages of the term by various academics, researchers, and practitioners in different but overlapping ways that has led to enormous ambiguity.

Alison Rooy (1998), for instance, counts six different but overlapping usages of the term amongst practitioners, academics and researchers that includes civil society as a norm of civility, as an associational life, as a public sphere differentiated from the state, market and family sphere, civil society as the product of specific historical moments in the West, civil society as an arena of contestations and conflicts, and lastly civil society as social or public space. Each usage invokes a particular theoretical strand and each usage has its own downsize. For instance, when civil society is used as a norm of civility then the very adjective 'civil' may become contested as competing notions of civility exist in different parts of the world. Civility may be oriented more towards individuation in the West but such an understanding may be contested in the South (Fowler, 2001). Feminists also criticize the notion of civil society as a public sphere as it may overlook the private sphere in which women may be subjugated (Rosenblum, 2002).

Besides these six usages, perhaps, some academics have employed the term as an analytical tool to measure the changing patterns of human relations or to inform us of the pathologies and transition of various civil societies (Kaviraj, 2001; Pasha, 2005; Edwards, 2013). Such a usage seems to be more inclusive to

the private sphere or family and may inform us how the social patterns make and break outside the state and beyond the individual. Thus, besides contested theoretical strands, civil society as a term has been used differently in different contexts. This thesis argues that choosing a specific theoretical strand and a specific usage of the term and applying it to a given non-Western context may create methodological problems. The following section will show how this thesis is going to deploy civil society as informed, both by participants' voices and literature review.

1.6.1. Civil society as a heterogeneous non-state social space

It is argued, in this thesis, that the peace-oriented struggle is taking place in the non-state space in Peshawar. To explore, examine and analyse, at an empirical level, the peace-oriented struggle amongst the Pakhtun, civil society is used as a non-state social space rather than voluntary groups alone. Space means distance, movement, place or locality and the various symbols that represent them (Massey, 1994). But such space is also inhabited by people who yield it a specific social character, rendering space and social relations inseparable (McDowell & Massey, 1994). Conjoining 'space' and 'non-state' perhaps still may be too vague to explain our conception of civil society.

This usage blends both 'liberal' and 'alternative' approaches in which civil society as a non-state social space may generate public action or social movements (Bryant, 1993; UNDP, 1993), may assist the state by offering various services to people (Uphoff, 1993), may act as a check on the state

(Diamond, 1994) or may advocate social change (Sethi, 1993)[26]. Besides embracing broader features of both approaches, our deployment of the concept is still oriented more towards alternative perspective of civil society as informed by the respondents' voices in Peshawar and as explained in the following section.

Unlike liberal perspective of civil society, using civil society as a non-state social space, does not assign immense importance to the question of its boundaries from the state, market and family. In Peshawar, the market, to a certain extent, still exists as an informal arena and the presence of extended families, including kinship networks blurs the entire notion of boundaries. Deploying civil society as a non-state social space, then does not include voluntary groups alone, but demonstrates sensitivity to the feminine voices that emerge from within the family. Such a deployment will also permit groups, informed by religion and ethnicity and engaged in local cultural agendas, to be included. Doreen Massey (1995) also argues that social spaces do not have bounded boundaries and remain porous to other spaces, adjacent in particular.

The usage of civil society as a non-state social space, however, does not necessarily inform us about the possible heterogeneity of the non-state social space in our context. At the empirical level, such a space may be imbued with unequal power relations and competing versions of peace and rights. People with different or perhaps opposing ontological positionality may compete for hegemony within such space. This aspect of heterogeneity seems to be an important trait of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar as our data

[26] Uphoff, (1993), Diamond, (1994) and Sethi, (1993) have been cited by Alison Rooy (1998: 19-22).

demonstrate. Thus, we employ the term as a non-state social space that is porous and extremely heterogeneous in character, filled by competing voices and world views.

This approach comes into contradiction with most of the donors' desire to create a rich associational life in the developing world whereby civil society is perceived in the post-Tocquevillian liberal sense by the Western donors. Associational life may be imbued with unevenness in terms of power. De Tocqueville himself failed to see the underlying power inequalities within American civil society (Alagappa, 2004). Focus on creating a rich associational life, then, shifts the power towards the registered associations with voluntary features at the cost of other associations which are informed by ethnic or religious perspectives and which remain informal in structure or do not speak the language of the donor community.

Our usage of the term, 'heterogeneity' also comes into sharp contrast with the so-called depiction of Pakistani civil society as a homogeneous realm, with a singular identity as discussed in popular media in Pakistan. Using 'liberal' for the entire Pakistani civil society does not take into account the heterogeneity, which this thesis has explored in the case in Peshawar. It also does not tell us what the philosophical foundation of such associational life is, which is an important part of our argument.

However, non-state does not imply that the social space in Peshawar is non-political as well. Conversely, and as argued by a large number of participants of this research, the entire struggle for peace is political in character. Nonetheless,

the term 'non-state' is used as participants did not seem inclined to include political parties in civil society.

1.6.2. Civil society as a norm of civility

The above usage of civil society as a non-state social space observable through an associational life, still, does not inform us on what basis we can call the non-state social space in Peshawar a 'civil society'. 'Does it mean that the entire non-state social space is "civil"? This is an important question that ought to be clarified. In order to address this problem, this thesis also employs civil society perceived as a norm of civility. It is precisely this normative use of 'civil' that addresses some of the problems that emanate from our earlier usage of the term, i.e. civil society as a non-state social space as the latter does not inform us what to count as 'civil'.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'civil' as polite and courteous, pertaining to the citizens, while 'civility' as courteous, decent, polite, and respect for social order as opposed to rudeness, anarchy, and violence (p: 255-57). Experts of civil society also interpret 'civil' as 'polite', 'tolerance', 'non-violent', and 'non-military' (Keane, 1996b: 10; Elias, 2013; Pearce, 2013: 405). When 'civil' and 'society' are juxtaposed into the singular phrase of 'civil society', the concept of 'civil society' attains a normative value and is perceived by experts as the ideal of tolerance, civility and progress as Edward Shils (1991) has suggested. As a norm of civility, civil society, then offers immense potentiality of constructing a new social order whereby individuals willingly come together on human grounds that could possibly moderate their sectional and particularistic tendencies (Shills, 1991 cited by Alison V Rooy, 1998: 11). The adjective 'civil'

renders the entire concept of civil society as an arena of non-violence, where not only the absence of violence, but the absence of the will to dominate is perceived as an important normative feature of civil society (Alagappa, 2004). While our normative use of the term subscribes to the rejection of violence and shows commitment to non-violence, it also demonstrates its alternative character according to which the sources of civility are searched immanently rather than in the Western secular, liberal milieu.

It is not only writers of the 20th century, but classical thinkers were equally conscious of the adjective 'civil', to a certain extent. Civil society, to the thinkers of the post - enlightenment period in Europe was a 'civilized political community' (Femia, 2001:131). The 18th century Scottish enlightenment thinkers perceived civil society in direct opposition to violence (Keane, 1996). To assign civil society the normative value of civility, the historical context of the wars in the middle ages inspired by religion and the earlier history of the crusades and Inquisition also played an important role in Europe. The enlightenment thinkers believed that human reason alone can end violence and bring some stability and order within societies (Swindler, 2004).

'Civil' perceived in opposition to violence, then, enables us to understand civil society as a norm of 'peace'. Both 'peace' and 'civil' being the opposite of violence has led some experts of civil society to explore the 'deep affinity' between these normative terms, because as a 'normative concept, civil society focuses attention on all the violence-reducing, civil and civilizing components of human interaction' (Pearce, 2013: 404-07).

More recently the debate about civil society's potentials to build peace has also surfaced as some argue that '… the involvement of civil society seems to be undisputed' (Paffenholz, 2010: 43) in peacebuilding. If peace is all about the potentials to exist without violence, then civil society emerges as an important sphere where the possibility of non-violent interactions can be exercised (Lederach, 2007: 48). Besides these normative constructions between peace and civil society, the history of peace organizations presents empirical evidence of civil society's potentials to build peace. At the close of the 19th century, there were about 190 peace societies all across Europe and USA with thousands of members (Cortright, 2009: 25-43). The contribution of those peace organizations towards the League of Nations and UNO cannot be ignored (Cortright 2009; Paffenholz, 2010). 'Peace', 'civil', 'non-violence' and 'civil society', are, then, seen as converging at the normative level, in which civil society, normatively, is perceived as a 'milieu of positive sociability that is independent of the forces of coercion and, which is committed to 'nonviolent forms of human interactions' (Pearce, 2013: 405).

If civil society is seen as a norm of civility then such an ideal aiming at civility, non-violence and mutual coexistence was not specific to the European experience and other societies around the globe might have observed and experienced it too. Norbert Elias (2013) argues that civility in Europe was neither even nor linear and thus must not be seen as the triumph of the Western liberalism. Other societies might have it before Europe (Hann, 1996). Civility, perceived as liberal individualism in the West or as informed by Gellner's conception of modularity, as discussed in chapter 3, then comes into tension with the specific notion of civility as posited by our respondents in Peshawar.

Respondents tried to locate civility within the local cultural and religious perspectives as explore in chapter 6.

The normative use of civil society, however, helps us to identify and analyse peace-oriented struggle that is taking place in the non-state social space in Peshawar. Feminine voices, in Peshawar, form an important part of this peace-oriented struggle in which women reject both explicit and implicit forms of violence and domination as chapter 5 and 6 show in detail.

1.7. Operationalizing the concept of civil society in Peshawar: formal and informal civil society

This thesis has deployed three different but overlapping usages of civil society, which subscribe to the conceptual framework, developed in this chapter and to the voices of our respondents, shown in chapter 5 and 6: spatial, which blurs the boundaries of civil society from family and the market; normative, in which the sources of civility are found in local cultural and religious perspectives; and reflexive, which shows the agency of non-state civic actors for social and cultural change.

However, such a complex deployment may sound abstract. Therefore, it is important to operationalize these usages in order to demonstrate what is argued in this thesis has an empirical basis in Peshawar. To address this objective, the idioms of 'formal' and informal' are used in this thesis. It may be reiterated, here, that the usage of these two terms is based on the arguments of the respondents, as they attempt to indigenize the concept of civil society within immanent sources. The objective of this section is to show, at an empirical level,

how and where respondents are trying to locate and embed civil society in Peshawar.

1.7.1. Informal civil society

As our respondents argued that civil society needs to be embedded within the local cultural and religious resources, therefore, we use the term 'informal' civil society to capture their understanding of civil society. Using 'informal' as an analytical tool is an attempt to extend their notion of civil society to the daily life where informal association lies in abundance and which may be counted as part of civil society. Although the commonsensical approach to everyday life may invoke the routinized lives of the ordinary, anonymous, nameless and less powerful people, yet the new approaches within sociology and feminist studies have focused on it as an important site of interactions and associations (Bennett & Diane, 2002). Informal civil society scattered within everyday life may provide instances of people's tendencies to organize in unconventional ways, even though such arrangements may remain latent in everyday life as argued by Alberto Melucci (1988). Wachira Maina (1996) also mentions the activity sites lying outside the realm of registered associations in the context of Kenya. Nevertheless respondents of this research showed enormous sensitivity to the ideal of civility and thus remain quite cautious about including the entire informal society within the gambit of civil society. Civil society as a norm of civility seems to help them draw a clear line at the empirical level between what may be counted as civil and what not.

The informal civil society includes unregistered associations and networks that have grown indigenously and perform multiple community tasks on a self-help

basis. Informal civil society may take different organizational forms, such as the mosque and shrines committees, neighborhood associations, sports associations (mainly run by male youth), saving schemes (mainly run by women) and more importantly Jirga that is used to resolve various disputes. It may also include transitory meetings and get-togethers around street corners, grocery shops, transport-stations and restaurants.

Dispersed along various localities, informal civil society does not feel the need to connect on a broader level and thus has limited activity spaces in Peshawar. Informal civil society has enormous social depth and is mobilized during election campaigns as argued by Mohammad Qadeer (1997). Being the seat of Community Based Organizations (CBOs), informal civil society is accessed by formal civil society organizations for various developmental projects. However, being submerged within daily life, the informal civil society remains hidden from the public and donors alike.

1.7.2. Formal civil society

By formal, we mean registered, non-state, non-profit organizations, with visible structures, which address various developmental and peace related issues. They include NGOs[27], trade unions, teachers and lawyers' associations, trusts, and welfare organizations. In most cases, they have written records and have a voluntary character.

However, our usage of the two terms 'formal' and 'informal' are not entirely problem-free and need to be recognized and kept in mind.

[27] To understand the social and political context of NGOs in Pakistan, see chapter 4.

The problem that was faced in the field was where to place those associations, operating both within formal and informal civil society, which attend community needs yet are affiliated with different political parties and religious groups. For instance, Al-Khidmat is affiliated with Jumath-e-Islami, a religious, political party, 'Dawa' is run by a religious group that was banned by the government and its leadership has been declared terrorist by the USA. Another example is Bacha Khan Educational Trust affiliated with the Pakhtun nationalist political party ANP (Awami National Party). While the politically affiliated associations are funded mostly by indigenous financial sources and by their respective political parties, to a certain extent, the religious groups are funded by private financial sources in the Middle East.

While this may not amount to oust the faith-based groups altogether from the realm of civil society, yet some respondents in the research have been demonstrating their sensitivity to the inclusion of such groups which are perceived as the developmental wings of political parties and various religious groups. The former may be used for electoral presence by the political parties, the latter may be used for promoting a specific interpretation of Islam at the cost of others. While our respondents wish to stretch the concept of civil society to the informal civil society they also remind us of the non-partisan character of the notion of civil society as a norm of civility. Therefore, our main focus may not include such sectional groups that may endanger the entire concept of civil society as a norm of civility.

The use of 'modern' and 'traditional' by these writers, in the context of Pakistan implies a dichotomy. Perhaps one reason for not retaining terms like 'modern'

and 'tradition' in this thesis is their respective contesting character that does not capture the empirical civil society in our case. More interestingly writers who have been using these terms as analytical shorthand still compromise their stand by resorting to the usage of formal and informal as Borchgrevink and Harpviken (2010) do in the case of Afghanistan. They adopt the 'traditional' and 'modern' model developed by Masoud Kamali (2001) in the context of the Middle East, wherein Masoud Kamali also uses 'quasi-modern' in order to deal with the emerging dichotomy that flows from the traditional and modern usage (as cited by Borchgrevink & Harpviken, 2010). Perhaps it may be the sector-wise division, such as health, education and advocacy that may tempt researchers to use the two terms which in our case loses meaning because at the empirical level a modern association may reflect a traditional agenda, whereas a traditional association may be addressing a modern agenda. For instance, JPI (Just Peace Initiatives), based in Peshawar, is a registered NGO yet working on Jirga as a conflict resolution mechanism, whereas Peshawar Jirga is an unregistered association yet uses social, print and electronic media in an effort to hold the state accountable for poor governance in Peshawar.

Thus, more than dichotomizing the notion, our attempt is to incorporate respondents' tendency to take the notion of civil society deep into the social space, from where associations may emerge and where the opportunities of peace-oriented norms and values may be explored.

1.8. Conclusion

As the first building block of this thesis, this chapter explored the contested discourse of civil society as informed by different theoretical strands in the

West, in different historical milieu. The examination of the term, at a theoretical level, was considered important for this thesis in order to be aware that the concept is not a singular homogeneous term and, instead, different versions of civil society exist, at a theoretical level, such as 'liberal' and 'alternative'. While competing approaches to civil society exist within the Western secular intellectual thought, alternative non-Western cultural discourses are not necessarily antithetical to the notion of civil society. It is argued in this chapter that the alternative version, which focuses on civil society as an arena of cultural dialogue and reproduction and as a battleground of contested ideas is conceptually relevant to our thesis. However, such an alternative conceptual framework also needs to take into account the non-secular context, which may prevail in the non-Western context.

Based on the conceptual framework, developed in the first section of this chapter, and respondents' voices as explored in chapters 5 and 6, section five has explored how this thesis has deployed the notion of civil society in this thesis: civil society has a spatial dimension with blurred boundaries from other spaces such as family and the market; the normativity of civil society as expressed in the adjective 'civil' is helpful in both separating civil minded associations from uncivil groups and helps us see how the sources of civility are found within immanent value systems; and lastly, civil society as an independent arena where cultural discourses are enacted and human agency works for social changes. However, to capture the 'emergent' civil society in Peshawar, at the empirical level, the concept of civil society is operationalized into formal and informal and a brief empirical outlook of various associations in Peshawar has been presented to the readers of this thesis.

This chapter has outlined the diverse debate of civil society. However, it is from within the liberal paradigm that a challenge is offered to those who wish to apply the term in the non-Western context. This specific challenge is dealt with in chapter 3, in which the 'alternative' approach to civil society is used as a critique of the 'liberal' model.

As this thesis draws attention to the peace-oriented struggle in Peshawar and argues that this struggle is taking place within the non-state social space, which exhibits an immanent character, it is important to show how this thesis has drawn and developed this argument. The prime argument of this thesis: the emergent civil society in Peshawar has an alternative character, which seeks inspiration from immanent value systems, was based on the voices of the respondents of this research. It is, thus, important to present a comprehensive methodological framework to the readers of this thesis. The next chapter will present a detailed sketch of our two field visits, which were conducted in Peshawar.

CHAPTER 2

2. A constructionist research methodology amidst security anxieties

2.1. Introduction

It was suggested in the Introduction that this thesis draws attention to the peace-oriented struggle that has emerged within the non-state social space in Peshawar amidst violence since 2006-07. To explore the character of this peace oriented struggle needed an in-depth understanding and investigation. It was important to explore respondents' own interpretations of peace and violence in the region and the value systems, which were potentially informing their perspectives of peace. Moreover, the idea of applying the Western specific concept of civil society in a non-Western context, was making the entire research project, intellectually challenging as some proponents of the liberal conception of civil society had raised questions about such an application. Qualitative research design, then, suited such a complex research agenda, which required an in-depth understanding of respondents' views and opinions. However, while qualitative research design seems to underpin this research, this thesis has also employed some quantitative statistics to support the argument. The objective of this chapter is to present a detailed account of different phases and various features of qualitative research design as employed in this thesis. This chapter will also offer a detailed account of various limitations, which were experienced by the researcher, and how they were resolved.

It is argued in this chapter that the choice of research methodology does not solely depend on the nature of research topic alone and instead is informed, to a certain extent, by the researcher's ontological and epistemological positionality also. In other words, in social science it is not only a research topic or a set of questions and the selection of a specific research method as two important research tools, but an in-depth awareness, recognition and expression of certain issues that precede and follow these two tools and how they have impacted the entire research design is equally important. Keeping such methodological complexities and limitations in view, an important objective of this chapter is to demonstrate how various issues, ranging from insecurity in Peshawar to ethical concerns, were dealt with in the field.

This chapter has been divided into nine sections. Section 1 explores certain demographic features of Peshawar. This section deals with the specific difficulties, faced by the researcher in the field, in knowing the exact number and activities of various associations in Peshawar. The researcher could not find a single source or database, which could yield important information about the associational life in Peshawar. As a result, non-availability of an authentic resource was a serious limitation to quantify the associational life, both registered and unregistered, in KP and Peshawar.

Section 2 informs the readers of this thesis that not knowing the associational life was a challenge. However, being a Pakhtun and being from the same region, personal contacts of the researcher were used to kick-start the fieldwork. These initial contacts proved very helpful in helping me to contact other individuals working or affiliated with registered or unregistered associations. Snowball

sampling, in other words, was used as a permanent strategy throughout my fieldwork. Snowball sampling was, in particular, helpful in contacting female respondents and members of the religious minorities.

However, this section also presents a detailed account of how carefully snowball technique was used in order to check certain limitations. Reliance on snowball sampling may distort the real picture as there is a chance that only like minded people may be interviewed or new respondents may be referred without their apparent consent. In order to address these limitations, the researcher used his previous knowledge of the region, enlarged the data sample, and adopted certain ethical measures. In other words, every effort was made to sophisticate this technique and be aware of potential gaps.

Section 3 explores the security situation in Peshawar in 2011 and 2012, which impacted upon this research in multiple ways. To lower the risks, certain strategies were adopted. Firstly, the fieldwork was split into two shorter durations. Secondly, a low profile was kept by the researcher and community ceremonies and going to public places was strictly avoided. While these strategies were to ensure the personal safety of the researcher, other safety measures to ensure no harm to the respondents were also followed. Ethical considerations such as the provision of consent form and offering anonymity and confidentiality to every respondent were some of the measures to ensure their safety.

Section 4 offers comprehensive reflections on the researcher's philosophical positioning. It is argued in this section that social reality is constructed through the mutual interactions of members of a particular society. However, not all

members participate in the construction of such a reality because such a space is imbued with unequal power relations. Presenting social constructionism and criticality as the ontological positioning of the researcher, it is argued, in this section, that such a philosophical point of view is not only owned by the researcher but is also inspired by the empirical data.

Section 5 offers a detailed account of the researcher' personal biography and argues that this research, which has employed an interpretivistic methodology, does not claim objectivity rather acknowledges the presence of the researcher, which then raises certain methodological concerns. It is argued that embedding reflexivity rather than objectivity helps us address some of the methodological concerns. It is argued that reflexivity has two kinds, i.e. 'epistemological' and 'personal'. While section 4 dealt with the 'epistemological' aspects, this section will deal with the 'personal' aspects. Explaining the concept of reflexivity, this section offers a detailed account of the researcher's personal background and how it impacted upon this research. Being a native speaker of Pakhtu language and being from the same region helped the researcher to ensure his safety, mobilise his initial personal contacts for the interviews and build rapport with the interviewees. It is also argued in this section that the researcher was also aware of his professional status as a researcher and had to abide by certain professional procedures to ensure ethical responsibilities. As the researcher come from a different academic background and has a different professional background, therefore, this section also explores different strategies, which were employed by the researcher to generate a less distorted picture of the social realities in Peshawar, for instance increasing the number of the sample,

visiting two other adjacent cities, using semi-structured interviews to elicit important information, and using participant observation to triangulate data.

Section 6 presents the rationale for choosing semi-structured interviews and shows how this choice fits in the overall research scheme. It is argued that exploring respondents' worldviews in detail, allowing new questions to emerge and using prompts, semi-structured interviews seemed the most suitable data generation tool.

Section 7 presents the specific details of the two field visits and elaborates why these two visits were conducted at two separate intervals.

Section 8 deals with data sampling and the issue of representativeness. It is argued in this section that this thesis does not make a claim that the data generated during two field visits is representative of the entire population, inhabiting the non-state social space, in Peshawar. Security situations as explained in section 3 and the unavailability of exact information about civic associations as explored in section 1, were some of the factors that impacted this research. It is argued that a prolong stay in the field may have enabled the researcher to reach out to a large number of people.

However, every effort was made to ensure representativeness of the local population and the researcher managed, to a certain extent, to interview diverse set of people in short but challenging situations. This section will show, while reaching out to the diverse people, variations in their respective gender, cultural, regional, religious, and linguistic backgrounds were prioritised. Data collection in two adjacent cities, the inclusion of non-Pakhtun and non-Muslims

in the data sample and the use of participant observation were different measures to ensure the inclusion of a large sample and to claim representativeness, to a certain extent.

Closely linked to the issue of representativeness, is the issue of building trust and rapport with the respondents in order to encourage them to share their opinions and ideas about different topics, which is discussed in the last section 9 of this chapter.

Before we make an attempt to lay out our philosophical viewpoint and deal with various ethical issues, perhaps, it may be pertinent to present to our readers how did the associational life in Peshawar look like during our fieldwork and how insecurity in the field impacted upon our research. Nonetheless, conditions of insecurity in Peshawar already existed before the commencement of this thesis, which influenced this research and also the choice of a specific research method.

2.2. Peshawar and the associational life: some limitations

The main site of my field research was Peshawar City District (see map in Appendix). Peshawar, the capital of KP, is a densely populated city and has a vibrant associational life both registered and unregistered. According to 1998 census[28] the total population of Peshawar is 2.019 million that forms about 12% of the total population of KP. Nearly 50% of Peshawar's population are migrants from other parts of KP. However, Pakhtun are in majority in Peshawar. There are other religious minorities such as the Christians, Sikhs, and Hindus and

[28] 1998 census is the most recent census.

linguistic minorities such as the Hindko speakers. Besides Pakhtu, Hindko is the second largest language spoken in Peshawar (KP, 2014).

It was initially expected by the researcher that the details of registered associations may be found on a single database in Peshawar. However, sketchy information available on certain websites did not present useful information about the exact number, locations and objectives of registered associations. For example, the total number of non-governmental associations in Peshawar District, according to the provincial government portal, was 355 in June 2003 (KP, 2003). The office was personally contacted by the researcher and the researcher was informed by the office staff that the database is under development.

Another portal mentions 26 sectors, such as health, education, addressed by the voluntary sector, but mentions only 10 associations without any detailed record. Pakistan NGOs Directory and Guide portal, mentions some detailed landscape of NGOs in Peshawar with their respective websites, postal addresses and functions but mentions only 32 associations altogether. Non-availability of an authentic resource was a serious limitation to quantify registered associations in KP and Peshawar. On the other hand literature on civil society in Pakistan mentions different numbers at the national level rather at the regional level (Qadeer, 1997; Baig, 2001). Nevertheless, after interviewing a substantial number of respondents on the issue of the exact number of registered associations, who primarily belonged to various registered associations in Peshawar, the number of registered associations in Peshawar may be assumed

to be around 800[29]. This figure seems, perhaps realistic as my respondents reminded me certain events such as the earthquake in 2005 in KP, internal displacement in the post 2007 period in different parts of KP due to conflict and floods in 2009-10 in KP, as key events that led to the emergence of a large number of NGOs in different parts of KP. Most of these NGOs are engaged in the delivery of different services, such as health, education and safe water schemes. However, advocacy NGOs have also recently emerged. One such example is the Tribal NGOs Consortium (TNC) established in 2009 to work with other local associations in FATA towards sustainable peace and development. Another important example was the establishment of Regional Instituted of Policy research and Training (RIPORT) in 2005 in Peshawar to address peace and development related issues[30].

At times, the researcher reflected whether or not searching for a single database or the exact number of registered associations in Peshawar will be fruitful when the researcher found out the way some associations were maintaining their respective profiles. For instance, the 'Institute of Peace and Development Studies' (IPSD) was found on a website as a registered non-profit, non-governmental organization based in Peshawar and registered in 2010 but did not provide any details of projects or contact information and thus the researcher failed to access the Institute. Similarly, the 'Sarhad Conservation Network' (SCN), based in Peshawar, that was referred to by a close friend of the

[29] For further details on how NGOs emerged in the specific political and social context, see chapter 5.
[30] For further details on how peace oriented associations emerged in the specific political and social context, see chapter 1 and 5.

researcher was a registered association yet did not maintain any website for researchers to know about them and their activities.

The problem with un-registered associations was more challenging. While a researcher may expect to find some information about registered associations either online or from a government office, such an expectation may not be realistic with regard to un-registered associations.

However, this was a serious limitation, which needed to be addressed effectively in order to generate effective and valuable data.

2.3. Addressing limitations: using snowball sampling as an alternative strategy

In the absence of an authentic data, reliance on personal contacts seemed to be the only option in the start of the research. Therefore, to start off my field work an email was sent out in advance in December 2010 from the United Kingdom (UK), where the researcher was based, to my personal friends working with civil society organizations in Peshawar. Thus, relying on my personal contacts, I managed to find important respondents and associations at the start of my research that were extremely relevant to my research aims.

Nonetheless, it may be pointed out here that reliance on my initial personal contacts was helpful as they helped me access other individuals working in different associations. From there onwards, snowball sampling, a useful strategy to access other respondents (King& Horrocks, 2010), was regularly used to access different people. Snowball sampling is a 'technique for gathering research subjects through the identification of an initial subject who is used to

provide the names of other actors' (Lewis-Beck et al 2004: 1043). It suited me in order to access the hard-to-find individuals in Peshawar as I would request a particular respondent at the end of interview to refer me to a person who either works in a civic association or is affiliated with peace related work or who has knowledge about civil society in Pakistan.

Instead of relying on the snowball technique, every effort was made to sophisticate this technique and constantly look for potential gaps.

Miller and Brewer (2003), for instance, have counted certain limitations of snowball technique, which also resonated in my research. Firstly, it may be assumed that the referrals may belong to a like-minded network and as a result the researcher may be moving up and down within a similar group and thus may ignore alternative opinions of others who were never referred. I also experienced this effect during my fieldwork as some respondents insisted that I interview particular individuals with whom they shared similar thoughts and backgrounds. To check this limitation, I used my previous knowledge of the region rather than relying on my respondent alone. However, in such cases, I would also request a particular respondent at the end of an interview to refer me to a person who would have a different understanding of the issues.

Secondly, the researcher will be completely dependent on the choices of his/her initial respondents. To address this limitation, the data sample was enlarged, as explained in the last section of this chapter.

Lastly, a snowball technique may trigger an ethical concern. A referral may be made without the apparent consent of the new respondent. In such cases, it was

my responsibility, to inform the new respondent of my research topic and all relevant details. However, not every time snowball technique was useful as in some instances my request for an interview was either ignored or the respondent declined to be interviewed.

Using carefully snowball sampling as an alternative strategy, a large number of registered associations were visited. A brief sketch of some of such associations based in Peshawar is given in Appendix G, which were personally visited by the researcher.

To approach unregistered associations, snowball sampling was also used in Peshawar. However, when my field work started, it had not been planned to include unregistered or informal associations may become part of this research, therefore, no prior preparation regarding how and where to find them was carried out in advance. It was during the initial interviews of my field work that respondents kept referring to such associations as the 'original civil society' or 'organic civil society'. For instance, on the third day of my field trip on 24th February 2012, a male Pakhtun respondent, working at UNDP, based in Peshawar, remarked about civil society:

'You should have started your research from your own village... because there you see the real civil society'.

Again, it was with the help of such respondents that I managed to access some unregistered, informal networks and associations. For instance, the contact details of 'Sahu Leekonko maraca (Association of Great Writers, Peshawar) was provided by a male Pakhtun academic/poet in Peshawar. It was there that I

found that this literary association was formed in 1967. Amongst 500 such literary associations, established in different parts of KP (BBC, 2014), the researcher could contact only two such associations, based in Peshawar, as they do not publicize their meetings and activities. Similarly, only one shrine committee was found in the interior Peshawar, named 'Dargah-e- Aliya Sathariya', which was also formed in 1957.

However, I also regularly asked from my respondents about their professional background and their specific interests. 13 out of a total of 80 respondents who were interviewed by the researcher in Peshawar claimed membership of various literary associations and shrine committees.

Unlike these informal networks, Jirga, being an informal and unregistered association has different features. The researcher was aware that Jirga is formed on the spur of the moment as a particular conflict occurs in a specific vicinity, therefore, instead of looking for Jirga forums, the researcher included elderly men, both within Peshawar and outside as elderly men are the potential Jirga members, who participate in Jirga on a regular basis. For instance, elderly men living as Internally Displaced Members (IDPs) instantly formed Jirga to put their demands before the state in Peshawar (Geo, 2014).

The snowball sample was also used to access women and members of religious minorities. Despite being from Peshawar, I found it hard to access these two segments. Women, in particular, were hard to access. As a result, only twenty-two females out of a total of eighty were interviewed. The researcher was already aware of this constraint in advance as in Pakhtun culture, it is easier for a woman to talk to another woman. To resolve this challenge, I had to rely on

male respondents working in registered associations who arranged my interviews with women colleagues, whom they already knew. Some of the members of religious minorities, who were interviewed for this research, worked in government offices. As I also have been working in government offices in my past, my personal contacts were used to access them.

While snowball sampling was carefully used to redress certain challenges in the field related to data collection, the real challenge was how to ensure safety in an environment that was threatening and insecure. This was posing serious concerns not only for the personal safety of the researcher, but for the respondents also who were to become part of this research.

Perhaps a better security situation in Peshawar may have enabled the researcher to prolong his stay, explore better the dynamics of unregistered associations and gather relatively large quantifiable statistics. The following section shows, briefly, the nature of such challenges.

2.4. Threatening security situations in Peshawar: a brief overview

Instead of giving details of the entire security situations in Peshawar and going into its history, the researcher chose to present a few instances to the readers of this thesis, that

Section 4occurred during the fieldwork. These events may enable us to see how the growing insecurity acted as a potential limitation.

1. Interviewee no. 39 (3rd May 2012 at 1639 hours)

Venue: Peshawar city (interviewee's personal bookshop)

During the middle of the interview the interviewee started receiving anonymous calls four times. The interviewee looked puzzled and upon the researcher's inquiry said:

'I do not know but someone is calling me to come out now... he is asking me to come out of the shop and threatening me that I will be shot'.

The interviewee was known for his anti-Taliban views in Peshawar and had published a few articles in a Pakhtu magazine against their violence.

2. Venue: Badaber dated: 12-03-2012 (researcher's village, situated in the south of Peshawar at 12 KM distance)

Badaber is the hometown of the researcher where a suicide bomber tried to assassinate the deputy speaker of the provincial assembly KP. The news reported the next day:

'Fifteen persons were killed and over 40 sustained injuries when a suicide bomber blew himself up minutes after the funeral prayers for a woman in Mamakhel area of Badaber village, 12 kilometres south of the provincial capital, on Sunday morning' (TN, 2012).

The Deputy Speaker was the apparent target of the suicide bombing because he belonged to ANP, which vehemently opposed the Taliban.

3. Venue: Peshawar Ring Road dated 15-03-2012

The researcher left the Badaber village to meet an interviewee in Peshawar city, but found the Ring road blocked. The researcher, after being stuck in the traffic for 3 hours had to cancel the interview. The news reported the next day:

'A senior police officer was killed in a suicide attack in Pishtakhara Chowk on the Peshawar Ring Road' (CAO, 2012).

While this was the situation in 2012 during my second field work, the situation in 2011 was not entirely different in 2011.[31]

4. Venue: Peshawar Kohat Road dated 01-02-2011

While the researcher was still in the UK and was preparing for the first field visit when the news reported:

'A suicide bomber detonated the explosives strapped to his body near the vehicle of the Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) on Kohat Road' (Tribune, 2011).

The researcher was aware in advance that the insecurity in Peshawar was a serious threat not only to my personal safety but to my respondents also. Personal safety and that of the respondents, thus, emerged as the topmost important issue as discussed below.

2.5. Personal safety

To conduct research in Peshawar in 2011-12 where bomb blasts and kidnapping for ransom was common, was not easy. However, it was not only the Taliban's violence alone, but the kidnapping for ransom was also a serious concern. Although I belonged to the region yet I was conscious that I may be perceived as a foreigner and that may expose me to potential dangers. Not only Peshawar city, but my own village where I was residing was threatened by the Taliban' violence.

[31] The field work was conducted in tow different periods i.e. 2011 and 2012.

To lower security related risks, the researcher had to adopt two strategies. It was decided with the help of my supervisor that the fieldwork may be split in two shorter intervals rather than one prolonged stay. The objective of the first fieldwork, conducted in 2011, was to experience and observe Peshawar, whether or not another field work will be possible in 2012. The outcome of the first fieldwork was that another short trip is possible if certain enhanced-security measures are adopted in a systematic way.

Some of such measures were: to keep a low profile, not to use public transport, to keep a charged mobile with credits that can be used in case of an emergency, leaving details of interview-location with one of my cousins before I leave for an interview and assuring that I would come home by evening. These measures were regularly observed. I strictly avoided going to any party, funeral or public gatherings. I was also in regular touch with my Principal Supervisor in the UK and regularly informed her of my safety via emails and phone. Being a local of Peshawar, I was aware that the Taliban usually targets public spaces and areas where security forces are stationed. During my fieldwork, I avoided the Cantonment area, where the Pakistan army is stationed because army facilities were the prime target of the Taliban. I also used a private taxi to avoid public transport. In case of an army convoy passing on the road, I used to ask the taxi driver to pull up on one side and to wait until the convoy is passed.

2.6. Consent, anonymity and confidentiality

Seeking informed consent from respondents and ensuring no harm to them, and their anonymity and confidentiality are extremely important aspects of research ethics in social science research (Oliver, 2003). The researcher has not only to

ensure his/her personal safety in the field, but also that of respondents (Blumer, 2008; Bryman, 2010; Seale, 2010). I was conscious that I was doing a research that did involve issues related to violence in the region. The Taliban's extremist ideology of implementing a strict Sharia rule is underpinned by a strong anti-Western discourse, for instance the Taliban's bombing of girls' schools as identified in chapter 5. I was conscious that as a researcher, based in a Western university, I will be asking questions about the Taliban's violence from some of my respondents, which may expose my respondents to potential threats and dangers. In order to deal with this, I offered complete anonymity and confidentiality to all of my respondents in written. I also gave them oral explanations of the terms anonymity and confidentiality. However, it was explained to them that their right not to answer a question will be respected and no further question about the same issue will be asked. There was only one such instance when a Pakhtun woman based in Peshawar refrained to answer any question related to the threats she received from the Taliban. No further questions were asked.

The consent form, presented to them, explained in detail how their details will be kept anonymous, how their recorded interviews will be stored and used for this thesis and any future research and how their details will be strictly accessible to the researcher alone. I observed in my initial interviews that verbal explanation of anonymity and confidentiality seemed to make them more comfortable. This strategy was adopted for my latest interviews, whereby I used to offer an oral explanation before presenting them written consent form.

From knowing Peshawar, its security situations and taking some safety measures, the following section will unpack one of the most important dimensions of this research project i.e. my philosophical positionality.

2.7. Reflections on my philosophical positioning

Social reality, for me, is neither an objective phenomenon, nor is human society governed by objective social laws that determine their interactions and behaviour. Instead, human beings are able to carry out calculated actions and construct their own realities. At a societal level, then, human beings are able to negotiate with their respective social structures. In other words, human action (agency) may mediate with a given structure. While human agency may open up the possibility of social change yet such an agency may operate within the structural constraints and may be limited by it (Walsh, 1998). In other words, there are no social laws that may regulate a given human society. Nevertheless, some social rules of interactions or social structures, being time tested may be perceived sacrosanct by some members of a given society and thus conserved. However, such a constructionist philosophical approach is not entirely based on the researcher's personal disposition. Instead, such an approach is also inspired by the empirical data, collected in Peshawar, and on the anthropological study of the Pakhtun as given below.

To build peace and minimize violence in Peshawar as exhibited by women's associations and peace associations, seems to represent human agency that challenges (or mediates with) masculine social set up and forces of religious orthodoxy as analysed in chapter 7. For women's associations based in Peshawar, the Pakhtun society as a 'man's world' or the social identity of

Pakhtun as male are social constructions that suited the tribal society. According to them a region that was exposed to consistent warfare, as explored in chapter 4, prioritized men over women, which led to a masculine social set up. The masculine social set up was then taken for granted by men as a permanent social reality, which had led to serious intolerance towards women and thus needs to be changed.

On the other hand, associations engaged in building peace and opposing religious orthodoxy also seem to identify that religious orthodoxy in Pakistan has grown within specific political and regional contexts, as explored in chapter 5. To perceive religious orthodoxy informed by intolerance, towards others is neither an objective social law, nor a permanent social reality that ought to determine interactions in a semi-autonomous way. Women's associations and individual voices show an ability to challenge such deterministic approaches to social reality and present the possibility of cultural change and shift. It is this desire of cultural change that is opposed by the masculine social set up and religious forces in Peshawar, as explored in chapters 6 and 7 in detail, whereby the 'emergent civil society' navigates between cultural change and conservative forces of tradition and orthodoxy.

In this regard the anthropological research conducted by Frederick Barth in 1954 on the political economy of Pakhtun from Swat Valley may be a pertinent empirical case study. His study, however, does not only challenge Gellner's perspective that pre-defined identities may limit the construction of a civil society, but also seems to support our constructionist perspective with a clear reference to the Pakhtun society. Frederick Barth argues that in segmentary

tribes ascriptive identity is perceived to be the most important factor that potentially determines one's political association as people of the same tribal lineage are inclined to stand with their respective extended cousins. However, in case of the Pakhtun from the Swat, personal choice seems to challenge this perception whereby the individual's choice within specific context has a clear bearing on determining one's political alignment and grouping. Placing individuals at the centre of society, Barth tries to show that the Pakhtun of Swat have the power and the agency to make choices, though such choices may be constrained by social structures.

As I believe that human beings participate in the construction of their respective social realities as active human agents while working within structural constraints, therefore, such an ontological[32] positionality is oriented more towards social constructionism. Social constructionism as an interpretivistic qualitative methodological framework differs from other ontological and epistemological[33] approaches such as positivism and realism that claim the existence of an objective reality existing independently of an individual's mind (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). Claims to objectivity within qualitative methodology are perceived as too old fashioned (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) and for some, they simply do not exist (Burr, 2003).

Human reality, according to social constructionism, is constructed by members of a given society within their respective socio-political, cultural and historical context. We see this happening in the non-state social space in Peshawar. As

[32] Ontology is understood, here, as a world view or a theory of being or existence (Potter, 2000; Berg, 2007).

[33] Epistemology is theory of knowledge (King & Horrocks, 2010).

masculine social set up that has led to the marginalization of women in Peshawar and religious orthodoxy are the constructions of certain political, economic and social contexts, the peace-oriented struggle is also constructed by the Pakhtun amidst violence within their own context and seeks inspiration from their respective contextual milieu.

However, social constructionism also faces the charges of extreme relativism (Potter, 2000). To resolve this tension, a critical approach is adopted in this thesis. According to social constructionism not all members can participate in the construction of social reality because of unequal power relations that may be embedded within and sustained by structural contexts. Biases, embedded within structures, may constrain the construction of new social truth, which may be challenged by human agency. Social construction attains a critical dimension when members of a given society make an attempt to know who shapes the reality and who is excluded and why (Burr, 2003). By revealing marginalized voices, social constructionism assumes an emancipatory feature. The critical dimension of social constructionism seems to resolve the moral dilemma that seems to flow from an extreme relativism. While social constructionism seems to explain our philosophical positionality, it is the critical dimension that informs our entire research framework. Thus we recognize that if social constructionism is detached from critical dimensionality, then the risk of considering it a relativistic approach may be enhanced.

The qualitative methodology, in which social constructionism with a critical note assumes a central ontological position, requires the study of social reality in its natural setting where people bring their own respective meanings of a

specific reality. By becoming an active part of such a setting, we can have an access to people's interpretation of reality. Such an epistemological approach, then, may deploy a range of different but interrelated empirical research methods to study society and its members (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). More specifically, researchers with social constructivist ontology tend to deploy qualitative research methods in order to draw a comprehensive portrait of the issue under investigation (Burr, 2003).

Working within an interpretivistic methodology may generate another dilemma for the researcher or what Anthony Giddens (1987) calls 'double hermeneutics'. I was aware that the reality constructed by the members of the society will be interpreted by me. In other words, a researcher working within a qualitative methodological framework has to be aware of his/her presence within the entire research project.

This dilemma may, potentially, be resolved by laying out not only the philosophical positioning of the researcher, but also the 'gendered, multi-culturally situated' self of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 23). The following section further builds and explains this dilemma.

2.8. Resolving methodological concerns

I was aware that moving with an interpretivistic methodology to the field does not leave any space for claims to objectivity and neutrality (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). To claim that social scientific research can be conducted in a controlled environment like an experiment in a laboratory and allow things to happen uncontaminated and generate completely objective results, is impossible in the

social sciences. The researcher's choice of the research area, research questions, his/her personal assumptions, ideas, theoretical positioning and personal background, all become part of the research process.

Furthermore '... the interviewer as a human being cannot be seen as an inanimate writing pad or a machine that records the interviewee's responses uncontaminated by human interaction' (Burr, 2003: 152). The researcher's 'personal biography' becomes integrated within the overall research undertaking (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 23; King & Horrocks, 2010). Therefore, this thesis rather than claiming objectivity and neutrality, acknowledges the presence of the researcher in the overall research process that was undertaken.

The presence of the researcher then creates certain methodological concerns. According to social constructionism a social scientist's interpretation of a given reality is just one interpretation amongst a variety of other possible versions. If that specific perspective is just one account, out of many possible accounts, then does the research undertaking not become a political act? It may become a political act because the researcher chooses one form of interpretation of truth over another that may validate a particular way of life over another (Burr, 2003). If the researcher is dismissing claims to objectivity, then does it not render the entire research undertaking a subjective affair (Potter, 2000)? We recognize that these methodological challenges must be addressed if the researcher seeks to make a meaningful contribution to the existing knowledge.

Embedding reflexivity within the entire research project, then, may enable the researcher to address these methodological concerns. Reflexivity, as explained below, includes not only laying open the researcher's philosophical positioning

and explaining the rationale for selecting a particular research method, but revealing the 'gendered, multi-cultural situated' self of the researcher also.

2.9. Embedding reflexivity: my personal background and its impact on the research

Reflexivity is the process of self accountability, a 'questioning approach', and a critical dialogue between the researcher and researched (King & Horrocks, 2010: 125). 'Through personal accounting, researchers must become more aware of how their own positions and interests are imposed at all stages of the research process... in order to produce less distorted accounts of the social world' (Hertz, 1997: viii).

C. Willing (2001) mentions two kinds of reflexivity i.e. 'epistemological' and 'personal'. The former refers to the researcher's philosophical positioning, which is explored above whilst the latter refers to his/her personal background, aspiration and motivation for the research area and experiences in the field (cited by King Nigel & Horrocks Christine, 2010: 127-128). However, reflexivity is also about stating clearly the political aims of the research (Burr, 2003). The researcher is required to show how potential power relations between the researcher and his/her respondents were addressed and whether or not the researcher has ignored certain questions or people whose ideas were deemed, by the researcher, less sympathetic (Hertz, 1997; Burr, 2003). Social constructionism gives immense importance to reflexivity as the researcher's presence in the entire research undertaking is acknowledged. While epistemological reflexivity i.e. researcher's philosophical positionality has been discussed above, personal reflexivity needs an in-depth exploration here. While

the genesis of this researcher has already been presented in the Introduction in detail, the following paragraph is a brief sketch of the researcher.

The researcher is 44 years old Pakhtun male. Born and educated in Peshawar, the researcher has spent time in Pakistan Air Force and has been in a government job. The researcher has also been affiliated with the teaching profession before his migration to the UK in 2004. However, it was English Literature, which was taught by the researcher. As violence erupted in the region in the post 9/11 period and as FATA became a new battleground of the Taliban's violence, the researcher, being from Peshawar, became interested to understand and explore how this violence can be minimised.

While the Taliban's violence provided the immediate impetus for this research undertaking, I was aware of my status as a male Pakhtun Peshawarite and its potential impact on my research to a certain extent only. Some features of my personal background impacted positively while others needed a deeper reflection as given below.

On the positive side, my background helped me in three different ways. Firstly, I was aware of the entire region, which helped me ensured my safety as I was aware which specific routes to travel and which to avoid. Secondly, being a Pakhtun and having lived in Peshawar for about three decades, I could mobilise my initial personal contacts, which were used then for snowballing. Thirdly, while this pre-knowledge was helpful in reaching out to my respondents quickly, its actual advantage reflected in building rapport with my respondents as I conducted my interviews in Pakhtu language. Building rapport is separately discussed in detail in the coming sections.

However, I was aware that I am in the field to gather highly important but complex data and had to prioritize my status as a researcher over my personal status. I was also aware that I have to display a professional demeanour in the field and treat my respondents as professional participants, which meant to respect certain professional boundaries.

It was thus important to generate the sense of a professional researcher despite prior acquaintances with my respondents. Amongst such steps were making a formal request for an interview from my respondent; granting them the right to choose a convenient time and place of their choice; presentation of my supervisor's letter from the university; presentation of the consent form and information sheet (see appendix F); formal permission to record the interview; explaining them their right to withdraw at any time during the interview; and enquiring about their interest whether they would like to receive a transcript of their interview. Such measures were regularly observed in the field.

It was in the field that I grew conscious that I have very little knowledge of the status of the civil society in Peshawar and people's opinions about it. I was also aware that I am not only a novice researcher, but also came from an entirely different academic discipline i.e. Arts and Humanities. Thus, I employed four different strategies. Firstly, I decided to continue with semi-structured interviews as data collection tool, so that I can elicit as much information as possible. Secondly, I decided to reach out to diverse sets of people, i.e. academics, journalists, students, women, and members of religious minorities. I also decided to expand my sample and visited tow other cities, i.e. Swat Valley and Islamabad. Thirdly, I readily accepted the invitations to participate in some

forums and events to triangulate the data. And lastly, I spent more than usual times with some of my participants, who had a diverse background and who could talk on the topic in detail. This was one of the reasons that 10% of my interviews (8 in total) were three hours long and about 5% of the respondents (4 in total) were visited twice to know better their ideas. While there is no guarantee that the researcher can negate his/her being in the field, yet awareness and being reflexive about one's identity and prior knowledge may help the researcher not to distort the entire research project[34].

While my prior knowledge was helpful, to a certain extent, there were some instances, where I struggled to reach out to specific respondents. For instance, I found it hard to locate women's organizations despite knowing the exact name and address. Looking for one such women's organization took the researcher around 30 minutes to move up and down the same street as there was no signboard of the association. I soon came to know through a female respondent working in the same organization, that they had received threats from the Taliban and they had to close down their office for a short period. However, besides the Taliban factor, Pakhtun society does not seem to encourage the open advertisement of women participating in public life.

While this thesis has not made any claims to objectivity, yet an attempt was made 'to produce less distorted accounts of the social world' as argued by Hertz (1997). For instance, I was aware that some women's associations are engaged in challenging their marginalization in the Pakhtun society. However, I could not

[34] The consent Form given in Appendix clearly shows what questions were in the researcher's mind and what was found as the research came to an end.

anticipate at the start of this research that women's voices will become an important part of this thesis.

Consistent self-engagement and discussion with my principal supervisor around the 'personal' elements of this research undertaking enabled me to choose semi-structured in-depth interviews as a tool to generate data. However, the selection of semi-structured in-depth interviews as a tool, also depended on other factors as given below.

2.10. The rationale for selecting semi-structured interviews as a research method

The research design does not include only laying out the philosophical positioning of the researcher and his/her research methodology, but also the rationale for choosing a specific research method. However, a sound research design would require the researcher to explain how these three parts form one coherent scheme of inquiry (Creswell, 2009). In social science research, the researcher's philosophical assumptions, his/her research methodology, and research theme tend to influence the selection of the specific research method (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; King & Horrocks, 2010; Rubin & Rubin, 2012). More specifically, the researcher with a qualitative research methodology and social constructionist ontology (Burr, 2003) and interested to explore, examine and understand respondents' world views, 'the what, how, when, and where of a thing' and various social roles and social structures (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Berg, 2007: 2-8) may tend to use a qualitative research method.

Informed by social constructionist ontology and working within the interpretivistic methodological framework, semi-structured, in-depth interviews, then, seemed pertinent to the very aims of this thesis. Semi structured in-depth interviews help researchers explore respondents' world view, their experiences and ideas in detail using probes to deepen their understanding of what and why they are saying something (Arksey & Knight, 1999, Fielding & Thomas, 2008; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Bryman, 2010; Seale, 2010; Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

Keeping the aims and objectives of my research, I did not choose structured interviews as they would have required similar worded-questions irrespective of my respondents' background, which might have distorted the social reality that I was trying to engage with. I also did not choose unstructured interviews because I knew my topic under investigation and prepared certain questions around the topics, for instance the Pakistani state, civil society, peace and violence. Semi-structured interviews, then, suited my research as I expected the possibility of new questions in the field to deepen understanding of respondents' world view. Again important evidence in this regard was to compose questions about women's marginalization in the Pakhtun society as it started emerging during my initial interviews as an important area to be investigated.

However, I was conscious that the deployment of another research method might have been useful to compare the emerging themes. Participant observation (six to nine months) and spending time within different registered

and unregistered associations might have been a useful research method, but it seemed less realistic due to the security situations in Peshawar.

2.11. Field work layout

Peshawar was visited twice. First in March-April 2011 and then, again, in February-May 2012. During the first visit only 10 in-depth interviews were conducted. The objective was to start knowing my field, find potential respondents for future interviews and also develop some understanding of the character of civil society in Peshawar. Nonetheless, the prime objective was to know how secure Peshawar would be for another spell of fieldwork. The second round of interviews in 2012 was long in duration and well planned in advance. Sufficient preparation, as mentioned above, was done in advance to ensure my personal safety and that of my respondents. For instance, upon my arrival on 24th February 2012, I was able to conduct my first interview on 25th February. Dividing fieldwork in two parts also helped me organize my data collection strategy. The first data set acted as a guide to the second one that enabled me to find out the right people not only in Peshawar but outside Peshawar including some parts of Pakistan. While the first set included 10 in-depth interviews in Peshawar, the second data set included 70 in-depth interviews and 12 conferences and public meetings as part of respondent observation both in Peshawar and outside.

2.12. Data sampling and the issue of representativeness

As I was conscious that I am from the same region, therefore, to produce a less distorted picture of the social reality, I discussed this matter with my Principal

Supervisor, both before my first departure and from the field via Skype. It was decided that a large number of people may be interviewed to claim a degree of representativeness. Approaching to a large number of people and seeking their opinions, and listening to their experiences was to compare and verify their opinions with one another in order to enhance the adequacy of my data (Lewis-Beck et al 2004). It was also decided to spend more time with those who are more 'articulate and reflective than others' to enhance the appropriateness of my data (Lewis-Beck et al 2004: 994).

It may be pointed out here that most of the respondents interviewed through snowball technique were not known to me in person. However, to ensure the representation of different groups, other factors were also kept in mind as given below.

Firstly, while carrying out a total of 80 in-depth interviews, variation in their respective professional, linguistic, regional, cultural, religious, and gender (sex and age) was kept in mind as the following three tables show the breakdown of data. The main objective of the data was to seek opinions from a diverse set of respondents to deepen our understanding of what civil society mean to them and how they see peace.

Total number of interviews	Male	Female	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Pakhtun	Non-Pakhtun
80	58	22	76	4	68	12

Total number of interviews	Respondents from Peshawar	Respondents from Swat Valley	Non-KP Respondents
80	68	7	5

Age variation	Number
Between 16-30	12
Between 31-45	52
Between 46 and above	16

Secondly, to expand the data sample, two adjacent cities were included. A week long stay in the Swat Valley and ten-days in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, were extremely productive. However, the rationale of collecting data outside KP had its own aims. Swat had recently suffered from the Taliban violence 2007-2010 and offered a fresh perspective on the Taliban's violence. I witnessed there a number of local, indigenous formal and informal associations, informed by local cultural perspectives and run by local people on a self-help basis. Swat Qaumi Jirga (Swat National Jirga-working for peacebuilding), Qadam Organization (working for peace and development), Swat Environmental Protection Society (working on environmental issues) and Swastu were some of the organizations visited by the researcher. Swastu[35] was working on reinventing a new role of Hujra as the social and cultural context has changed

[35] My respondent explained that Swastu is the old name of Swat River.

and was trying to transform it into a community space. The visit to Islamabad enabled me to listen to the voices that did not belong to KP and listen to those who were conducting research on the Taliban's violence in KP as for instance PIPS (Pak Institute of Peace Studies, Islamabad).

Thirdly, to claim representativeness for this thesis, it was discussed with my Supervisor that interviews with non-Pakhtun and non-Muslims in the region may be helpful to compare their views with those who came either from Peshawar or were Pakhtun. I found respondents from religious minorities extremely uncomfortable in sharing their views openly. As a result interviews with them were relatively short in duration. They had their own community organizations, but it is extremely difficult to know about them because of the fear from religious orthodox sections in the society.

Finally, to reach out to a large number of people in the region and to triangulate my findings, I also employed participant observation and attended a number of both small and large conferences, meetings, gatherings and youth group discussions. The rationale of using a supplementary research method and reaching out to diverse people both within and outside Peshawar was to triangulate our research outcomes or what Denzin (1978) calls data or methodological triangulation. Data triangulation would require the researcher to seek detailed opinions from diverse sets of people along ethnic, religious, professional and gender lines. Methodological triangulation would make use of different research methods to examine the results achieved through them.

Access to some of these collective forums was provided and arranged by some of my interviewees who advised me to take part in different events and

meetings as an observer to help me explore the ideas and thought of ordinary people. However, I also relied on local newspapers to know more about such forums.

Participant observation was not planned prior to the commencement of my fieldwork. I was conscious of the security situation in Peshawar and made an informed decision about which event to attend. However, these conferences and meetings helped me understand better the internal strains within the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar and the potential tensions amidst ethnic, religious, and liberal ideals. Besides being complimentary to the interviews, the attendance of such events gave me access to a large number of people whom I did not know, yet had access to their thoughts. Listening to the panellists' speeches, watching their presentations and participating in the question-answer sessions gave me a direct insight of their inner thoughts and ideas. Participant observation was a useful way to further complete the picture that was emerging from the interview data. The detail of these conferences is given in the table below.

Serial No.	Name of event	Organized by	Details of event	Duration	Location
1	FACEOFF	Hunerkada	Rising Intolerance & Violence in the Society	Two days workshop/presentations	Peshawar
2	Fundraising	Bacha Khan Education Trust	How to mobilize local sources of funding	One-hour	Peshawar
3	Annual Convention	National Party-KP	Sharing an agenda of political change	One day	Peshawar
4	Peace in KP	Jirga Forum	Peace in Peshawar	One day	Peshawar
5	Annual conference	Pakistan Trade Union Defence Campaign	Celebration of 1st May	One day	Peshawar
6	Literary gathering	Saahu Leekunko Maaraka	Discussion of a Pakhtu short story and related social issues	Two-hours	Peshawar

7	Pashto Literary Society	Pashto Literary Society	Celebrating Pakhtu language/open discussion on KP security situations	3 days	Peshawar
8	Climate change	Sarhad Conservation Society	Fund-raising and to devise a comprehensive agenda of climate change	Two hours	Peshawar
9	World Music Freedom Day	Bacha Khan Education Trust	Celebrating music as peace	Three hours	Peshawar
10	Meeting with donors	Just Peace Initiatives	Presentation of peace a project	One hour	Peshawar
11	Drone attacks and their impact on society	CAMP	Discussion with Peshawar university students on peace in KP	One day	Peshawar

Apart from a few organizations in Peshawar, whether registered or unregistered, that were personally visited during my field work, it is extremely difficult to talk with certainty about their accurate number, activities, values and current statuses. To know more about unregistered associations in Peshawar meant spending more time and expanding my mobility in Peshawar, which

remained restricted due to insecure conditions. An open mobility in and around Peshawar, and staying in the field for a long period of time, may have improved my claim of representativeness.

2.13. Ethical issues: building rapport

Building trust with the respondents is an important aspect of research ethics and reflexivity so that they do not feel under pressure and the researcher is able to get the required information (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It was important for me that a place of their own choice is respected, where they can feel both physical and psychological safety and where there are less chances of interruption (King & Horrocks, 2010). However, building rapport is extremely helpful in creating an environment where respondents can openly share their ideas.

It took me a very short time indeed to be part of their respective organizations. One of the reasons for building rapport instantly with my respondents was my knowledge of all the rituals and customs of meeting a person in the Pakhtun culture. Almost in all cases, I was offered food, tea and even in some cases a lift. In some cases, I was taken around their organizations for a short visit and was introduced to their colleagues and team members. It showed typical Pakhtun hospitality that they are so proud of. For instance, at Peshawar University and Khyber Medical College, Peshawar, I was taken to the staff room and introduced to the academics and students wherein I was asked about my research thesis. Spontaneously it led to very important discussions and I was able to gather extremely valuable opinions. However, in such cases I did take their permission to use their discussions for my research, which was granted.

Presenting consent form, but also explaining verbally my research topic, acted as icebreakers, especially with those respondents whom I did not know in person. To build rapport with my respondents, I had to use very active listening, presented a positive body language and showed respect to their ideas. One way to show respect to their ideas was to use 'thasoo' instead of 'tha'[36]. Using slow pace and speaking clearly was also used. Clear communication plays an important part in building trust. However, if the researcher is speaking the same language, then it gives an extra advantage as it may minimize the chance of losing the meaning of important words or interpreting their responses and the researcher is not perceived as a stranger (Berg, 2007). I had the extra advantage of being a Pashtu speaker. Outside Peshawar, I used Urdu language for my interviews, which I am fluent in also.

Building a rapport, nonetheless, also means to maintain certain boundaries. Therefore, I had to decline, though very politely, respondents' very warm offer to stay overnight in their homes, especially during my visit to Swat and Islamabad.

2.14. Data Analysis

I was aware that I was collecting vast amounts of data, which may be difficult to handle. Therefore, I decided to transcribe the interviews on the same day, mostly at evenings. In order to ensure full verbatim transcription, I used a good recording machine. Moreover, my five years experience of Pashto/English interpreter and translator in the UK also helped me transcribe verbatim.

[36] 'Thasoo' and 'Tha' in Pakhtu mean 'you'. While the former is a plural pronoun, the latter is a singular pronoun. However, plural pronoun 'Thasoo' is used as a sign of respect in Pakhtun culture.

However, it was an extremely time consuming activity, but productive for the final data analysis. In other words, transcription helped me enter the realm of data as King & Horrocks (2010) argue.

Analysis starts simultaneously with data collection and transcription processes and the researcher starts to know the emerging themes (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Rubin & Rubin, 2012). My case was not different. Transcribing in the field helped me compose new questions, which needed to be answered by different people who can, potentially, provide a different perspective on the issues that emerged from the data. However, as Berg (2007) argues that data collection and analysis, if systematically carried, may render the research rigorous, so I decided to use NVivo 8 to secure all data and make an organized record of all nods and themes.

Using three stages of thematic analysis as argued by King & Horrocks (2010), I coded the entire data that enabled me to collect descriptive coding. Bringing similar codes in a hierarchy, I was able to collect interpretive coding. On a third level, similar interpretive codes were brought to higher forms of abstractions. Chapter 6 shows in detail different clusters that helped me build my argument, for instance 'culturalists' summed up those perspectives that show orientations towards the Pakhtun culture as an important value-system. Nonetheless, there were certain cross cutting themes that emerged from the data and which were difficult to be placed under any defined cluster. King & Horrocks (2010) call such cross cutting themes 'integrative themes' (151). However, This thesis has named such themes 'connectors' in chapter 6.

2.15. Conclusion

This chapter has presented a detailed framework of the research design by presenting the researcher's ontological and epistemological positioning and the rationale of employing a specific research method. While working within a qualitative methodological framework, this chapter has made an attempt to show how reflexivity was embedded in the entire research project.

This chapter also made an attempt to show what Peshawar looked like during the fieldwork. The growing insecurity in Peshawar impacted upon this research by restricting researcher's mobility. However, this chapter also showed that by taking certain safety measures, the researcher was still able to reach out to as many people as possible.

The researcher was, however, able to know in a more systematic way about the registered associations rather than un-registered ones in Peshawar. In order to compensate for this apparent imbalance, the interview sample was increased to include a larger number of individuals who were not necessarily members of registered associations in Peshawar. It was amongst such people that the researcher found some respondents who were members of various shrine committees, literary associations, local sports club, local youth association and Jirga.

To reach out to a large number of respondents, snowball technique was carefully used to overcome its limitations. This chapter has, in particular, shown that to overcome certain limitations related to security situations in Peshawar, the data sample was extended to two adjacent cities for a short period of time.

In addition to that, participant observation, for a short period of time, was also used to claim a certain degree of representativeness.

The next two chapters will show, in detail, the analyses of the data and the main argument of this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

3. The Pakhtun culture as the ground for 'modularity'

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 laid out the theoretical debate of the notion of 'civil society' and argued that the notion of civil society does not have a homogeneous body of doctrine rather different competing versions of civil society exist, at the theoretical level. It was also argued in chapter 1 that certain theoretical threads in the alternative discourse of civil society may be applicable to the context of this research, which entail a detailed investigation of the internal contingencies of the Pakhtun culture, which is dealt with in this chapter.

It was argued that the embedded nature of civil society's discourse within the secular Western intellectual history complicates the application of the civil society in a context, which is imbued with religious and local traditional worldviews. The liberal version with its strong emphasis on civil society's differentiation from other spheres, such as family, market and the state, and individual liberalism, as its philosophic basis, has a long and robust intellectual historical lineage compared to the alternative version. The alternative version, though inspired by Gramsci and oriented towards Marxist thought of class conflicts, has recently been revisited within alternative non-Western conditions. However, the import of the Western alternative notion of civil society in the non-Western conditions, seem limited and remains suggestive only. Thus, an empirical study is needed to investigate the alternative discourse of civil society

and explore to what extent the notion of civil society resonate in other non-Western traditions.

It is argued in this chapter that in non-Western contexts, immanent value systems may be perceived as the philosophical foundation of civil society rather than the Western individual liberalism. Thus, diverging from the mainstream 'liberal' conception of civil society, important aspects of the immanent value systems may be perceived as important sources of peace and civility. Normativity[37], thus, may emerge as an important marker of civil society, which allow us to count informal networks and groups, informed by kinship and religious consciousness as part of civil society.

The role of this chapter is threefold. In the first place it critically examines, at the theoretical level, the debate between the liberal and alternative discourses of civil society, with a particular emphasis on non-Western contexts and people, who are not essentially immersed in the Western individual liberalism. Secondly, this chapter critically explores the internal dynamics of the Pakhtun culture. Explaining the terms 'tradition' and 'culture' as employed in this thesis and by exploring the Pakhtun culture questions such as what is the philosophic basis of the Pakhtun culture, how people resort to these value systems in their day to day interactions, and how certain groups, such as women, have been marginalized, will be explored in detail. Thirdly, while other cultural and politico-linguisitic movements also emerged within Pakhtun at different times as briefly mentioned in this chapter, this chapter will examine the Nonviolent

[37] The immanent values normatively derived from cultural and religious values.

Movement in detail as a case study of a prototype of civil society. To address these three points, this chapter has been divided into four sections.

Pakhtuns are immersed in local, traditional and religious worldviews and identities and present a different kind of cultural 'self', knitted to the interests of the entire community and have distinct social-cultural mechanisms. Having ascriptive identities and pre-defined value systems in which different groups, based on gender, occupation and age, are assigned social roles and responsibilities, it may be pertinent to ask how the notion of a civil society, whether liberal or alternative, may be a meaningful conceptual tool. To deal with this tension, Gellner's concept of 'modularity' is the focus of this chapter. A 'modular' man, according to Gellner, is freed from the ascriptive identities, pre-defined obligations and roles and is equipped with the right to enter and exit, voluntarily, any association without any fear (1996). In contrast to the segmented people, which Gellner studied in Morroco in 1969 and who are immersed in pre-defined perspectives and obligations and are locked in cousinly relations, it is only the modular man, argues Gellner, that can build civil society.

Such a proposition potentially acts as a theoretical and empirical challenge, which needs to be recognized and addressed if this thesis suggests that the construction of civil society, even in an alternative demeanour, may be possible in non-Western condition such as Peshawar. Section 1 of this chapter explores this tension and deals in detail with Gellner's ideal type 'modular man', which is contested both within the West and in the South (Hann, 1996; Varshney, 2005).

The detailed historical presentation of the region and the Pakhtun, in section 2, is to demonstrate how the region has been a consistent battleground, a regular route for the marching armies and a site of consistent violence for over 2000 years. Section 2 also sheds light on how the region experienced the non-violent ideology as conceived in Buddhism and how different Pakhtun cultural thinkers realized the importance of peace.

As the Gellnerian argument explicitly states that marketization and liberalism have created the 'modular' man, it is important to understand what local traditional and religious value systems inform Pakhtun's ways of life. However, instead of discussing the entire Pakhtun culture, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, section 3 is restricted to the examination of important value systems, such as the Pakhtunwali and Islam. Examining the Pakhtun culture does not only inform us of the social and cultural context of this thesis, but also sheds light on the masculine character of the Pakhtun culture, which some section of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar openly challenge. This section will show how local traditional perspective (Pakhtunwali) and religion (Islam) informs their interactions, how the Pakhtun are immersed in ascriptive identities, and are locked in cousinly relations and pre-defined roles and obligations.

This chapter will, specifically, argue and show as evidence that the desire of peace and non-violence as the objective of life is not unfamiliar to the Pakhtun. It is argued, here, that, although, they have lived through the history of violence, yet they have been able, to a certain extent, to devise mechanisms and create spaces to imagine and practice the possibility of non-violence. The fourth section deals in specific with the rise of Nonviolent Movement amongst the

Pakhtun and provides an empirical instance, which serves as a challenge to Gellner's perspective and also serves as the foundation of this thesis' argument.

3.2. Importing the concept in a non-Western context: the challenge of 'Modularity'

One of the most important perspectives in liberal paradigm is the emphasis on civil society as the outcome of specific Western historical conditions. This perspective lays enormous emphasis on certain pre-conditions for the potential emergence of civil society and challenges the very attempt of importing the concept of civil society in contexts that are entirely different to the Western conditions and has not experienced the Western experiences of marketization and liberalism. This section unpacks this philosophical debate and shows what justifies, at the philosophical level, the attempt of this thesis to apply the concept of civil society in Peshawar.

The liberal concept of civil society implies a specific concept of social 'self' as the essential prerequisite of civil society, perceived as liberated from the bonds of kinship and all other ascriptive identities whether religious or ethnic. The individualized 'self' is potentially free and fluid in choosing his/her associations at will and is not enchained by any pre-defined bonds, obligations and roles. The specific individualized 'self' is capable of building a civil society which will be non-sectarian in essence because the 'self' is able to think rationally and act independently in his/her own self-interest. Such a 'self' uses human reason alone to decide his/her associations with others rather than any pre-defined cultural or religious perspectives imposed on him/her.

According to this argument the liberal concept 'seeks to distinguish itself from the bonds of solidarity and belonging which characterize societies and which have not embraced the project of modernity…' (Femia, 2001; Pearce, 2013: 409). This conception of a specific 'self' was a Western experience, wherein obligations and roles prescribed by religion and tradition were displaced by impersonal, individualized bonds (Becker, 1994). In its specific Western experience commercial activities and use of human reason diluted the traditional arrangements and allowed new ones to emerge (Crow, 2002). In the liberal concept of civil society the individualistic fluidity of the 'self', informed by human reason alone, is the source of civility, which, alone, can contribute to peaceful interactions (Pearce, 2011: 409).

The most influential exponent of this viewpoint is Ernest Gellner, who argues that civil society is a modern project in which simple, tribal interactions are transformed into complex, contractual relations and in which people choose their identities at will. Any pre-defined worldview will confiscate their freedom to choose associations and the fear of breaking socially-imposed pre-defined roles, responsibilities and obligations will obstruct the building of a civil society. To capture the Western specific experiences of marketization and liberalism and the individualized 'self', fit to build a civil society, Gellner used the term 'Modular Man'. A 'Modular Man', freed from the ascriptive identities, has the freedom to choose his associations voluntarily (Gellner, 1996). Gellner (1996) argues that 'The modularity of modern man was probably a precondition of the industrial miracle, and is certainly – by definition - a precondition of civil society' that can prevent the tyranny not only of the state but that of cousinly relationships (p: 42).

Individualism understood as such may not exist in the non-Western contexts (Fowler, 2001). For Gellner, then, the existence of associational life may not be a sufficient evidence of civil society in non-Western contexts. The Gellnerian perspective, then offers a challenge to the international aid agencies' endeavors that tend to see associational life as evidence of civil society in non-Western contexts (Rooy, 1998).

It may be pertinent to point out that his conception of 'Modular Man' acts as a contrast to the segmented self that he studied amongst the Moroccan tribes (Hammoudi, 1996). A segmentary society is composed of various concentric segments based on genealogies that help them define their mutual interactions. Being able to maintain social order, such a segmentary society does not need a state (Hammoudi, 1996). Gellner's anthropological findings, which have been contested both theoretically and methodologically (Hammoudi, 1996; Munson, 1996) led him to consider 'Modular Man' as the opposite of 'segmented man' that is immersed in predefined identities and locked in pre-defined responsibilities. Internally cohesive and egalitarian, Gellner was still not convinced because of the tyranny of cousinly relations that made such segments suffocating. Referring to the segmented self, Gellner (1996) pronounced that the Muslim Umma has failed to create a civil society because of the condition of non-modularity that has allowed the ritualized and 'stifling social segments' to prevail (Ibid:41).

Extending Gellner's argument, the problem with such segmented self is that it can build segmented associations only. Such associations may be closed for some groups as a person's membership is decided on the basis of 'a person's

general characteristics' (Post & Rosenblum, 2002: 5). As a result divisions and conflicts over power and authority may be common phenomena in such cases.

It is argued in this section that embracing such an approach as a universal truth may create problems and may lead to the conclusion that 'all other bonds' are 'unable to contribute to this process (civility) by their very nature…' (Pearce 2013 p: 409). The ethnocentric emphasis on certain pre-conditions and individualized 'self' that declares civil society as a Western triumph and as one of 'industrialism('s)…'social corollaries' (Gellner, cited by John Keane: 12) makes the debate of civil society rigid and orthodox. Gellner ignores the 'uneven spatial and temporal distribution of the civil society' even in the west and instead 'conflates different forms of civil society in economistic' term (Keane, 1996b: 11-12). Also the concept has never been free from certain biases as it became a reference to the white, male, bourgeoisie class (Kean, 1998c) and was conceived in opposition to the assumed savagery and barbarism in other parts of the world (Goody, 2001; Kaviraj, 2001).

While the concept of civil society was certainly born in the West, the over-emphasis that only associations with modern traits, i.e. voluntary consent and formal structures built by 'Modular Man' driven by marketization and liberalism, has been challenged both theoretically and empirically.

Carrying out a research on inter-communal networks and violence in India, Ashutosh Varshney (2005) confronted the same dilemma where traditional organizations were abundant and raised the important question of 'Must associations, to form part of civil society, be of a ''modern'' kind – voluntaristic

and cross-cutting rather than ascriptive and based on ethnic affiliations?' (p: 40).

He argued that there are various organizations in India that carry ascriptive identities, but they are still voluntary in nature because not all people living in that vicinity have to be its members. This is equally true of our informal associations in Peshawar wherein people immersed in ascriptive identities come together on a voluntary basis. His argument, based on his empirical findings in India, that most of such associations use modern techniques and tools, is also relevant in our context as many informal associations such as Peshawar Jirga use social media and print media in Peshawar.

Varshney did not find the voluntary aspects of associations and individualism to be the essential determinants of a civil society as he found that associations immersed in ascriptive identities played a key role in diminishing violence. Based on his empirical findings, he then argues that modularity may not be the appropriate approach to study civil society in non-Western context.

'…at least, in the social and cultural settings that are different from Europe and North America, if not more generally, the purpose of activity rather than the form of organizations should be the critical test of civic life…Informal group activities as well as ascriptive associations should be considered part of civil society so long as they connect individuals, build trust, encourage reciprocity, and facilitate exchange of views on matters of public concerns – economic, political, cultural, and social' (Varshney, 2005: 46).

The ethnographic case study of Malerkotla in India by Randhawa (2012) is yet another case that shows how Malerkotla society, informed by religion, remained immune to the communal violence in 1947 and how various religious communities live with peace today. Randhawa's argument does not only dismiss Gellner's modularity, but also seems to support our argument, as she shows that civil society in Malerkotla is embedded in local cultural and religious perspectives. Immersion in local cultural and religious perspectives consistently reminds different religious communities how they co-existed with tolerance in the past and how to stay non-violent in their interactions in future.

Instead of focusing on the non-Western context, some anthropologists have countered Gellner's argument by citing case studies from within the Western context as Elizabeth Dunn (1996) argues that '… recent anthropological work shows, civil society does not necessarily operate from the premise of liberal individualism' (p: 27). The American Mormons, a Christian religious group in the USA demonstrates that despite being situated in capitalist world they 'have created a form of "civil society'' that looks much more like those described for "non-Western" societies'... based on the 'moral system of community interaction' (Dunn, 1996: 27-28).

Tradition is not necessarily equal to the tyranny of cousins, and capitalist modernity does not always make civic interactions possible. Jenny Pearce (2013) argues that if associations are based on ethnicity it does not essentially mean that their ethnic roots will serve as the seeds of violence. Taking on Gellner's essentialist rigidity, Melucci (1998) argues that civic actions may occur in a completely unconventional manner, embedded in the traditional life and

thus submerged in daily life in traditional societies. For many like Mamdani (1996) civil society emerged in the non-Western contexts against colonial oppression, but such movements were never recognized as civil society movements. Kothari (1996) argued that it is not important that a liberal modular man should be perceived as the appropriate substance for building civil society, because the public action may emerge against the increasing consumerism and commercialization that emanate from Western liberalism as some sections within an Indian civil society show.

Gellner's argument that only modular 'self' can build civil society appears to be a 'mistaken' notion that restricts the import of the concept of civil society in non-Western context (Pasha, 2005:19). Challenging this normative argument, some have argued that the specific individual self can equally be a source of conflict, whereas traditional associations, informed by different concepts of individualism, can also show a great tendency towards peaceful existence and mutual cooperation (Pearce, 2013).

These case studies and counter arguments presented by different experts seem to suggest that the desire *to imagine and build a civil and peaceful world* (researcher's italics) may, possibly, act as the criteria of measuring a society as civil (Varshney, 2005; Pearce, 2013). While Varshney's argument of the purposive activity as the critical test of civil society may make sense, yet it is not entirely clear what the philosophical foundation of civility is if it is not Western liberalism. It is also not clear what problems a given emergent civil society may face if an alternative philosophical foundation is chosen. This thesis grapples

with these two issues, i.e. the alternative philosophical foundation and the possible limitations that such a choice may cause.

The debate of modularity is relevant to this thesis as this thesis employs the concept of civil society in a context that is entirely distinct in every aspect. The application of civil society by experts in Pakistan sheds extremely limited light on this key challenge offered by the Gellnerian proposition. When different experts deploy the idiom of civil society in Pakistan, it is not entirely clear which specific version of civil society is deployed and what are the culturally-intrinsic ideas of civil society, which prevail in the Pakistani society. Also, the way the concept of civil society has been deployed in Pakistan seems to have generated a certain vagueness around the very concept. Some have conflated the entire idea of civil society with *everything that is not the state* (researcher's italics) (Malik, 1997a, 2009b; Rizvi, 2000), some have focused on NGOs alone and offered a limited picture of civil society (Baig, 2001) while some have proposed binary oppositions of 'traditional' and 'modern' and 'Islamic' and 'un-Islamic' (Qadeer, 1997; Zaidi, 2006). By grappling with Gellnerian's proposition, our thesis makes an attempt to take the discourse of civil society as understood in Pakistan, that still remains an under research area (Mirahmadi et al., 2012)one step forward and explore what value systems may inform the civil society and how the alternative version resonate there.

While the case studies and counter arguments presented above are useful in offering an alternative dimension to the Gellner's modularity, the Nonviolent Movement amongst the Pakhtun seems to be an adequate empirical example,

which is dealt with in section 4. The following section will acquaint the readers of this thesis with the Pakhutn, their region and history.

3.3. The origin of the Pakhtun

Although different relics suggest human presence in Afghanistan[38] (See map in Appendix A) that dates back to 50,000 years, yet historians refer to the arrival and settlement of the Aryans[39] in Afghanistan, Persia and India around 2000 BC as an important event in the history of the sub-continent (THF, 1999; Shroder, 2009). However, subsequent but continuous waves of invaders, led by people of different origins but mainly of Irani (Persian) and central Asian stock who mixed with the Aryans, have been pointed out by many as the origin of Pakhtun as a race (Khan, 1950; Gankovsky, 1982; Vogelsang, 2002; Caroe, 2001; Khatak, 2012). This seems more convincing as Pakhtu language belongs to the eastern Iranian language group, which assimilated a number of linguistic and cultural influences over the centuries by coming into contact with different groups (Ghani, 1988). The only ancient source that refers to the Pakhtun are the Hindu religious texts, Rig-Veda, composed around 1500 BC that mentions 'Pakthas' living beyond Indus (See map in Appendix B) and is believed to be the earliest reference to them (Nath, 2002: 273).

The earliest reference to Peshawar[40] (See map in Appendix C) was made by Herodotus in the 5th century BC as the 'city of Kaspaturos'[41] and to its people as

[38] Afghanistan is the neighbouring country of Pakistan as map in Appendix A shows.
[39] Arya was a race whose origin is contested in history.
[40] Peshawar is our field area for this thesis and currently the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as shown in the map in Appendix C.
[41] Herodotus made this reference while writing about the Greek General, Scylax' exploration of the region upon Darius' orders, the Persian King, to know the geography better. Using the Kabul river, Herodotus refers to his journey that started off from the 'city of Kaspaturos' which

'Paktuike[42]' inhabiting Gandhara region (See map in Appendix D) (Caroe, 2001). Likewise in one of the inscriptions at Naqsh e Rustam of Shapur I (c. 240-270) at Fars (Iran) the early name of Afghan appears as 'Abgan' and that of Peshawar as 'Paskiboura' (Caroe, 2001). Such passing references only transitorily illuminate the region and its people. Although such references do not help us build a complete valid theory of the origin of the Pakhtun yet they help us understand the fact that they inhabited the Gandhara region.

With respect to their origin, however, there exists another tradition that establishes them of Semitic origin. This tradition being historically inconsistent and contradictory is strongly criticized as an invalid theory of their origin (Ghani, 1988; Caroe, 2001; Mehsud, 2010). However the tribal genealogies that flow from this tradition, paradoxically, yield important information about the Pakhtun tribes, revealing their cousinly relationships, modes of behaviour and social organizations, which the Pakhtun themselves believe to be true. For instance, according to the tribal genealogies, the tribes in FATA[43] seem to have stemmed from an ancestor named Karlanr. Likewise the tribes of the Peshawar valley and surrounding region[44]and those inhabiting Afghanistan[45] belong to the

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according to the historian Sir Olaf Caroe is Peshawar because it is the only place where the Kabul River can be used for such adventures (Caroe, 2001).

[42] Herodotus also mentions to 'Paktuike' and writes that 'their way of life is almost the same as that of the Baktrians' who 'wore cloak of skin and carried the bow of their country and the dagger' and who were 'the most warlike of all Indians' (cited on p: 29 by Olaf Caroe, 2001). Moreover Herodotus refers to four tribes living in Gandhara. One of them he calls 'Aparutai', which could be a reference to modern 'Afridis' (Caroe, 2001: 37).

[43] They mainly include Wazir, Mehsud, Afridi, Bangash, Orakzai, Daurs, Mangals, and Khatak etc.

[44]Mohmands, Yusufzais, Shinwaris, Khalil, Chamkanis, Kasis etc

[45]Abdalis, Achakzais, Sheranis, Popalzai etc.

two sons of Sarbanr, namely Kharshbun and Sharkhbun respectively (Caroe, 2001).

However, these genealogies do resemble other segmented tribal societies, for instance Ait Atta tribe in Morocco studied by Gellner (1969). The Pakhtun tribes, like the segmentary tribes of Morocco, are further divided into compact segments wherein each segment is traced to a male ancestor. As a segmented society, there is no single tribal chief. This renders their society egalitarian in spirit while the internally developed mechanisms of maintaining social order do not create the need for the state-institutions. Gellner also notes such observation with regard to his anthropological study in Morocco.

At present, the Pakhtun live in Southern Afghanistan and North Western region of Pakistan, having shared religious, ethnic, and linguistic background. In order to understand better Pakhtun as a cultural group, the following section divides their history into three subsections. Each section deals with a specific era and as we move from one era to the next, we encounter a much clearer picture of the Pakhtun and their culture. Living at the Pak-Afghan border, the region inhabited by the Pakhtun was a consistent ground of violence. A region that was otherwise popularized as no man's land was, indeed, everyone's land (Banerjee, 2000: 25). However the desire of peace and non-violence also appears intermittently in the region as the following sections will show.

3.4. The pre-Islamic era

KP has a great historical depth and is credited with the Gandhara Civilization (c. 500 BC-1000 AD). The Gandhara Civilization included the valley of Peshawar

and that of Swat (Khan, 1993) while stretching eastward towards Taxila in the Punjab and westward towards Jalalabad in Afghanistan (Dani, 1988) (see map in Appendix D). The Gandhara civilization experienced prolonged spells of Buddhist culture as Buddhism was adopted the state religion under the Mauriyas (c. 322 BC-185 BC) and again under the Kushans (c. 75 AD- 250 AD). The Gandhara civilization was a centre of art, and culture, and learning under numerous dynasties. Although Gandhara's central capital fluctuated between Taxila (Punjab), Charsadda (North of Peshawar) and Peshawar, it was Peshawar that remained an important city of trade, arts, and culture for centuries, attracting foreign scholars and travelers.

The Gandhara region was first conquered by the Achaemenian Dynasty in 6thcentury BC, by the Greeks under Alexander in 327 BC (Docherty, 2007) and by the Mauriyas (322 BC-185 BC). However, it was under the Asoka's rule (304 BC to 232 BC) when Buddhism was declared the state religion (Khan, 1993). How the religious influences i.e. Zoroastrianism for 200 years and then Buddhism for about 100 years have impacted on people's world-views, their sociability, arts and languages is not known to us in great detail, except for the archaeological monuments that show the fusion of different cultures and religions. The region then witnessed the arrival of different invading groups after the fall of the Mauriyas in 2nd BC (Docherty, 2007).

It was during the Kushan dynasty (c. 75 AD to 250 AD) that Peshawar became the capital city and once again Buddhist religion and art, fused with strong Hellenic influences, reached its zenith transcending the frontiers of Gandhara and attracting foreign pilgrims to Peshawar. The Gandhara region remained a

battleground for the incoming armies of Persia in the 4th century AD, the White Huns in the 5th century AD and, again, Persia in the 6th century AD. In the absence of written, documented history, the Pakhtu folk literature does refer to these invasions, as one verse says:

'If our crops are not destroyed this year

My beloved has promised to bring me a red shawl' (Khatak, 2012)

The persistent invasions made Gandhara a unique place that has witnessed a larger number of invasions than any other place in the world (Caroe, 2001: 25). The story of the pre-Islamic Gandhara is the story of fierce power struggles amongst different invading groups with varying cultural and religious associations. The Gandhara region had yet to experience a new spell of violence from Afghanistan. With the arrival of the Muslim rule, i.e. Ghaznavid (975-1186) in Afghanistan, both the pre-Islamic story of the region and the Gandhara civilization came to an end, introducing Islam as the new cultural force in the region, which was to create permanent stamps both on the region and its people (Ghani, 1988).

The important characteristic of the pre-Islamic period of the region, besides violence, was the introduction of the non-violent ideology as conceived in Buddhism nearly 2000 years ago. The central authority, after declaring Buddhism a state religion, helped to propagate the norms of non-violence by building Buddhist monasteries and stupas that reminded the people of the non-violent teaching of the Great Buddha. Though introduced and patronized by the kings, Buddhist Bhikshoos (missionaries), then, popularized the non-violent

religion, not only in the Gandhara but also in the adjacent countries. Some writers have argued that this cultural past might have possibly found expression in the Nonnviolent Movement in the 20th century (James, 1988; Banerjee, 2000). However, the Nonviolent Movement made precise references to Islam alone and not to this cultural past as explored in section 3 of this chapter.

3.5. The Pakhtun after conversion to Islam

The post Islamic era also brought new devastations, wars, and new competing forces to the 'Indus frontier', thus continuing the tradition of destruction and violence (Caroe, 2001: 117). However, this period offers, relatively, more information about both the region and its people. In this era, we hear about the Pakhtun, their tribes, their conversion to Islam, their involvement in the regional wars as 'soldiers of fortune', and fierce inter-tribal rivalries and battles amongst them (Caroe, 2001: 114)[46].

In this era we come to know that the Pakhtun tribes were helping different kings to conquer India to establish empires and kingdoms and while doing that the Pakhtun themselves held the Delhi throne three times[47]. However, in their own land they could not come up with an empire or governments of their own, not even a tribal 'confederacy' (Caroe, 2001: 249). Well-trained in the art of warfare, even the most powerful Mughal kings whether Akbar (1556-1605) or

[46] The word Afghan which had earlier appeared in 3rd AD in the Persian inscription started appearing again. The Muslim chroniclers especially al Beruni mentioned it in detail as Afghans living in the frontier of India and who are 'rebellious and savage races' (Caroe, 2001: 113).

[47] First under the Khiljis (1290-1320), then under the Lodhis (1451-1526) and lastly under the Suris (1540-1556).

Aurangzeb (1658-1707) could not establish their writ in the Pakhtun region effectively.

Amidst this resistance to the central authority by the Pakhtun and their mutual warfare, we hear of the Roshanaya Movement in the 16th century (c. 1560-1638). It was led by Bayazid Ansari, famously known as Pir Roshan (c. 1525-1582/85) with a mystical background. It successfully mobilized Pakhtun tribes for resistance against the Mughal. However, his movement had to face local resistance from a different set of religious leadership located in the Swat valley who declared his ideas heretic, thus contributing to the tribal rivalries. Some perceive this mobilization as a sectarian rift which was used by the tribes to maintain their autonomy but also to assert themselves against other tribes (Caroe, 2001). However, others argue, providing evidence from the Pakhtu poetry, that the movement was the earliest example of the Pakhtun enlightenment that aimed at liberty, equality and women's rights, which were expressed in the prose and poetry by the members of the movement (Maghmoom, 1998; Khatak, 2012; Mehsud, 2012). An important feature of this movement was the emergence of female leadership from within the tribal structures, as Pir Roshan's granddaughter Bibi Alai led the mobilization at a later stage until negotiation was reached with the Mughal emperor (Gandapur, 2008).

In the same period, we encounter the themes of love, peace, and humanity in the poetry of the mystic poet, Rahman Baba (1653-1711). In his poetry, the meaning of jihad is transformed from the physical struggle against an external enemy into an inward journey of self-purification. In his poetry the notions of

male ego and male honor otherwise popular amongst the Pakhtun are exchanged with love and service to humanity (Enevoldsen, 1993; APISF, 2010).

Like the pre-Islamic period, this period also shows the continuity of the violence exhibited by different invading groups including Pakhtun tribes too. However, the pre-occupation with the themes of peace, love and non-violence also emerged in the writings of cultural thinkers, this time inspired by Islam. It is this set of values and norms, which the participants of this research identified as important organic sources of civility and peace. Participants also made frequent references to Pir Roshan's movement as an indigenous example of cultural change.

3.6. The Pakhtun in the colonial period

The British colonization of the Peshawar valley illuminates both the region and its people much better as a number of Western envoys, historians and anthropologists explored the area. The British arrival in the region was necessitated by the possible Russian expansion towards Afghanistan, which was perceived as a potential threat by the British. The Peshawar valley once again, like its past, assumed a key role in the regional power politics. Soon after the decisive defeat of the Sikhs, Peshawar and the surrounding regions were included in the British Raj in 1849. It was in 1901 that a separate province, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) emerged, excluding the tribal belt known as FATA, which was regulated by a different administrative set up (See map in Appendix C).

The British period is extremely important as it is the first ever recorded instance wherein we see the arrival of an early prototype of the modern state in the form of a firm government with a new administrative system, written laws and defined borders, which was to have great implications for the Pakhtuns. The 'Indus frontier' had no such tradition as all previous kingdoms enjoyed very limited control at the plains of the frontier, and were concerned more with revenue collection or building road or towns.

The administrative system was specifically bureaucratic in character, which kept a strict vigil on the possible emergence of political activities and resistance. The written law that came in the form of Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) in 1872 was yet another anomaly that led to the corruption of the local institution of the Jirga[48] (council of elders) wherein the elders were handpicked by the British authorities with extensive powers to treat political resistance (Baha, 1987).

The region was cordoned off in the form of a new border, the Durand line, in 1893 which divided the Pakhtun in two countries, i.e. Afghanistan and Pakistan, while the demarcation of the tribal belt from the settled districts of NWFP was to serve the British's strategic purposes. Such geographical changes and the very presence of Colonial forces in the frontier were perceived by the Pakhtun as foreign occupation leading to volatile situations. Although NWFP was a separate province in 1901 yet for three decades, it remained without an assembly unlike other regulated provinces of the Indian Raj, and political reforms were considered not suitable for the people until 1932. NWFP was

[48] Jirga, in Pakhtun culture, is a local mechanism of resolving different community issues, conflicts in particular (Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005).

perceived as an important strategic border area by the British that helped them to protect their borders against possible Russian incursions, therefore, political activities were discouraged in the early part of the 20th century (Banerjee, 2000).

The North West Frontier Province[49] became part of the Pakistan in 1947 and once again the politics of the Pakhtun identity seeking equal rights from a strong central state were repressed. Pakhtu language assumed immense importance in its mediation with the state as Pakhtu language was seen the key source of the Pakhtun identity, connecting them to their cultural past (Raham, 2005).

NWFP became an international hot spot as the Afghan war began in 1979. The central state, in alliance with the international powers, pursued the policy of Jihad using FATA as an operational and training ground for the Jihadi. Both the role of the state towards its own people and the birth of violent extremism are separately discussed in chapter 4.

The importance of the British period lay not only in the detailed picture of the Pakhtun but also in the fact that the British period was soon to act as the immediate context of the most important period in Pakhtun history and which is of great relevance to our thesis. The arrival of the modern prototype Western state, though without its parliamentary and political contours and oriented towards security concerns alone, was to act as the opposing but oppressive

[49] The province was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in April 2010.

structure to the emergence of the Nonviolent Movement, which is explored in the last section of the chapter.

It was suggested, in the first chapter, that the concept of civil society as a heterogeneous non-state social space and as a norm of civility will be deployed in our thesis. The following sections will explore in detail the Pakhtun non-state social space as it appears at present and how the norm of civility was constructed from local cultural and religious perspectives.

3.7. The Pakhtun culture

Culture is a contested term, which has different understandings in different academic fields. Being one of the 'most complicated words in the English language', the word 'culture', slowly acquired its meaning as different academic fields employed it (Williams, 1976 p: 87). Raymond Williams (1976) argued that despite different meanings of the word, it can be deployed as 'a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (p: 57). Being a particular way of life, culture encompasses the entire past legacy and heritage of a given group, which includes arts and language, customs and rituals and moral values. Culture as such is learnt and shared and transmitted from generations to generations (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000; Morris, 2012).

'Culture... is inextricably linked with the social groupings and social institutions which constitute society at any given time and in any specific place' and 'requires and implies interactions between people, between groups of people and between institutions' and thus constantly evolve and change (Giles and

Middleton, p: 31). Closely related to culture, is the idea of tradition, which is also deployed in this thesis. Tradition is considered as 'The customs and practices held to have been handed down from generation to generation within a culture, or a particular instance of them. A tradition is often regarded as a cultural birthright' (Morris, 2012: 254). However, tradition, linked to an imagined or real past, is also constructed in specific conditions (Hobsbawm and Rangers, 1994).

However, certain aspects of a given culture may be perceived of permanent value and, thus, are repeated to instill a fixed behavior. In other words, certain aspects of a given culture are fixated or structured to embed certain way of imagining the world or behaviour. The structurisation of certain aspects then makes the entire cultural space a practicing field of power as certain groups may be perceived in a specific ways, which lead to their marginalisation in a given society (Giles and Middleton). Bourdieu (1984) also argues that a specific perception, which has acquired the status of knowledge, may place a specific group in a given culture at a privileged position. Closely linked to the concept of social structure, the concept of human agency, which mediates with structures and through which marginalised groups advocate their social position (Walsh, 1998).

Pakhtun culture has been influenced by two very powerful and highly inspiring perspectives, i.e. Pakhtunwali and Islam. However, culture, like a social space, is not a bounded and instead remains porous (Massey, 1994) and cannot be reduced to specific, countable perspectives. Living within new socio-political realities since the 20th century has also mobilised new discourses, which some

people do not see organic in character and, thus, resist them. For instance, the international discourse of women' rights has also contributed to the emergence of feminine liberal forces amongst the Pakhtun as demonstrated by the women's struggle for their rights discussed in chapter 5.

Pakhtunwali is an un-written code of the Pakhtun way of life inherited from the distant past, 'transmitted through an oral tradition' to the next generations, that 'governs the life of the individual Pukhtoons as well as their communities' (Spain, 1972; Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005: 44). While this definition projects Pakhtunwali as a Pakhtun tradition, others argue that Pakhtunwali is a culture (Khatak, 2012). It is their unwritten social constitution, developed over hundreds of years, that ensures community cohesion and social order, addresses their needs, acts as a social contract among the Pakhtun, defines social roles and responsibilities of various gender groups and preserves the Pakhtun culture and identity.

Pakhtunwali comprises various norms and values, social structures, institutions and individual and collective practices, equally applicable to the household life and the public life, that include ashar (group work), badal (revenge), itebar (trust), nang (honour), melmastai (hospitality), Jirga (Elders' council), Hujra (Community centre), gawand (neighbourhood) 'Khegara' (welfare), 'loz or jaba' (an oral commitment) and other fundamental aspects of community life (Afghanan, 2010; Khyber, 2010). These norms, structures and institutions seem to be the empirical expression of the ideals of justice, co-operation, collectivism, fairness, equality, peace, conflict resolution and dialogue. Pakhtunwali, at the normative level, conceives a society that is violence-free and is always ready to

debate a contentious issue. This is clearly expressed not only in the folk, but classical and modern Pakhtu literature. The Roshanaya movement writers, and classical poets such as, Khushal Khatak (1613-1689), and Rahman Baba have been propagating these ideals of peace, tolerance, dialogue and deliberations, and the importance of human reasoning (Khatak, 2012)[50]. However, it may be pointed out that Pakhtunwali is not a homogenous code. Instead, the internal complexity that runs across class, gender, and power relations and the difference in geography has led to different specificities of Pakhtunwali suited to different regions within KP.

Moreover the very existence of a large number of words in Pakhtu language like Jirga (an assembly to resolve a conflict), maraca (consensus seeking platform), theega (cease-fire), rogha (resolution), jora (reconciliation), and saaz (rebuilding relations) further testifies the normative ideals of Pakhtunwali and its orientation towards peace and civility (Khatak, 2012: 6). It is these traditional resources, which the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar invokes as an important alternative philosophical value system. However, invoking such resources also triggers certain antithetical forces as discussed in the following section and empirically examined in chapters 5 and 6.

Some have criticized Pakhtunwali for its masculine character and declared it a 'male-centered code of conduct' (Weiss, 1995: 109), others have argued that it is a change-repulsive tribal remnant (Azam, 2010) that helps maintain an 'ordered anarchy' (Levian, 2010). Some argue that the Pakhutn culture is for and by the

[50] An important cluster of our respondents as discussed in chapter 5 i.e. 'Culturalists' perceive Pakhtunwali at normative level and consider it an unwritten, agreed-upon, time tested constitution of social order and mutual respect.

men in which women have low social status and image. The privileged social structures, institutions or roles are occupied by men only (Ahmed, 1986: 29).

However, masculinity is neither restricted nor directed at women alone, rather knitted with male honour. In other words, patriarchy and masculinity have contributed to violence in different forms. The empirical cases where violence is justified in the name of Pakhtun honor (nang), whether committed in the form of honor killing of women or family enmities, are counted by many as the direct negation of the normative ideals of Pakhtunwali. For example, the important institution of Jirga is perceived to be productive in securing peace and resolving conflicts in the Pakhtun society. However, Jirga does not proactively intervene in the private affairs of families or other individual matters, nor does it address the root causes of conflict in order to discourage its re-occurrence in the future. Jirga, being regulated by Pakhtunwali and led by men alone, as Akbar s Ahamd (1986) argues, has condoned honor killing of women because Pakhtun honor is situated within women. He further argues that the respect and honor of her close agnatic relatives will always be vulnerable if she doesn't keep her chastity as required.

The man's world of Pakhtunwali becomes once again prominent when women remain absent from the public space, shut within the private realm of household as 'unrecognized workers' (Benedict Grimas 1993 as cited by Aneeta Azam, 2010: 32) where the tasks are 'physically hard and monotonous' (Ahmed, 1986: 30). The only way to get respect in society and within her family, is to live in self-denial and please everyone around her. However, if she crosses the men-made boundaries, she potentially faces the charges of social stigma (Safdar

1997; Azam 2010). The centuries-old Pakhtu folk literature depicts a stressful image of women as the victims of male Pakhtu honour, given to hard homely tasks, without any social rights (Ahmad & Boase, 2010; Azam, 2010). Similarly, Pakhtunwali's negotiation with Islam is also interesting in this regard as in some cases it has altered the very basic Islamic principles, as is evident in the case of women's inheritance rights, which is denied to them under Pakhtunwali though granted by Islam (Ahmed, 1986). The patriarchy in the Pakhtun culture seems to have been strengthened by the religious interpretations of women as weak, fickle, and unintelligent, which justified their exclusion from the public space[51].

Similarly 'badal' (revenge), an important norm of Pakhtunwali, needs special mentioning. Pakhtun do not tolerate the slightest of an insult to himself, his relatives, specifically women, or his property and it is binding on him to try his best to redeem his self-respect (Ahmad, 1986). Taking revenge is perceived as the true trait of Pakhtunness and seems to be strongly interlinked with male honor or ego (Khyber, 2010). Badal is strongly interlinked with the norm of 'nang' (honor) that cuts through all aspects of Pakhtunwali and is a matter of life and death for Pakhtun (Ahmed 1980, Barth 1981). This tendency, however, is actively checked by the institution of Jirga, 'nanawati' (pardoning), and the Islamic teachings of pardoning enemies, yet it has contributed to enormous violence. However, in the cases of elopement, adultery or a love-affair, both man and the woman involved in the incident are killed. Badal, in such cases, is not sought by relatives of both persons as Pakhtun honor was compromised on both

[51] An important cluster of our respondents as discussed in chapter 5 i.e. 'women reformists' seems to identify this masculine mindset that has led, according to them, to the subjugation and repression of women in the Pakhtun culture.

sides (Ahmed, 1986; Safdar, 1999). Thus, badal is underpinned by a strong masculine sense of honor. It is this trait of the Pakhtunwali that, at times, overshadows other traits that can potentially nurture tolerance and has invoked strong stereotyping from observers of Pakhtun society.

Similarly, all are equal and independent of others, yet social stratification exists. The low working or professional classes, though not excluded from the Pakhtun society, yet they are not classed as pure Pakhtun, as depicted in the folk literature, which is why they are not so dominantly visible in the public space (Ahmed, 1986; Ahmad & Boase, 2010). For example, the landless class would never be seen acting as elders in the tribal Jirga (Weiss, 1995: 110). Although some think that Pakhtunwali does not encourage a separate platform for the young to connect and realize their potentials (CYAD, 2012), however, it is the 'masher' or 'speengeerey' (the elder or grey bearded) who occupies a more dominant position (Safdar, 1997).

As tribal genealogies still illuminate their roots, therefore, kinship networks are a common phenomenon. Kinship networks play an important role in the Pakistani society where family is an important institution that gives a sense of protection and identity to its members (Levian, 2010; Weiss, 1995: 100). These extended families or 'biradari' denoted as 'khel' or 'zai' are based on a common descent or locality, which play an important role in their mutual interactions (Weiss, 1995; Safdar, 1997). These networks or 'the biradaris' have traditionally served as a combined mutual aid society and welfare agency, arranging loans to members, assisting them in finding employment, and contributing to the dowries of poorer families' (p: 101). While such network-systems may be a

source of strength to its members, cousinly relations may prevent them building civil society, as Gellner argued.

In addition to Pakhtunwali, Islam, for Pakhtun, acts as yet another important worldview that links them 'with model past' and 'persons' that 'offers the only sound basis … for forming and reforming one's society in any age' (William Graham as cited in Zaman, 2002: 3). In Pakhtun society, Islam has mingled with the Pakhtunwali, creating a unique character of its own. Most Pakhtun prefer Pakhtunwali owing to its compatibility to their religion, but also because Pakhtunwali has emerged from within their cultural habitat and therefore has social acceptance and is owned as the only legitimate way of life (Khatak, 2012). Pakhtun perceives Pakhtunwali as perfectly compatible with the principles of Islam, which further enhances its sublimity and grandeur amongst its practitioners as both emphasise self-help, cooperation, justice, forgiveness and peace. 'To the tribesmen, Islam provides specified political and socio-religious formations within which his Pukhtunness operates. The two are in harmony ... Islam is so much a part of the Pakhtun structures as to suggest that the dichotomy is false' (Ahmed, 1991: 139). While this might be true of certain tribes, our empirical findings have explored tensions between cultural and religious perspectives.

Islam amongst the Pakhtun seems to have been interpreted in such a way that seems to have reinforced some of the institutions and values that already existed. For instance, Islam advocates that a daughter is legible to get half a share as compared to a brother in inheritance, but in Pakhtunwali women are not entitled to get any share.

However, it does not mean that Islam has a secondary position rather for the Pakhtun, Islam has been always a very sensitive issue. In addition to cultural change, nonviolent political struggle, and language, Pakhtuns were also mobilised in the name of Islam. The idiom of Jihad was not unfamiliar to them. For instance, Pakhtun were mobilized in the name of Jihad against the Sikhs in the 1830s mainly in the Swat Valley (Peer, 2008). Mullah Hadda (1839-1902) launched his Jihad against the British in the later part of the 19th century. While Pakhtun were experiencing the non-violent movement in the region around Peshawar, some leading Pakhtun individuals, such as Haji Saheb Turangzai (1858-1937) and Faqir of Ipi's (1897-1960) were still actively fighting against the British (Haroon, 2010). While focusing on this Jihadist lineage, some historians have tried to link the current Taliban-phenomena with this Jihadist historical strand in KP (Levian, 2010). Others, while focusing on the social implications of Jihadist struggle in various parts of KP, suggest that the presence of these religious leaders and their influence to mobilise people for Jihad has, in part, seemed to have strengthened the position of the religious clerics in the Pakhtun society (Haroon, 2010).

Sana Haroon (2010), in particular, argues that religion, Islam, remained more in revivalist hues that focused more on the standard literal understanding of the religion as preached by Deobandi scholars that had very close connections with the religious class in KP since the 16th and 17 centuries. A substantively large number of students from different parts of KP studied in Deobandi[52] madrasa[53],

[52] One of the oldest religious school of thought, Deoband, was established in 1867 in Saharanpur in United Province (UP), India as a response to the British secular culture in India. The graduates sought positions in mosques and madrasa throughout India. They rejected any

who, after graduation from Deoband, use to preach in different parts of KP (Haroon, 2011: 58-59).[54]

Thus, both Pakhtunwali and religion are the dominant frameworks that inform Pakhtun culture. The presence of cultural and religious perspectives as pre-defined worldviews, Pakhtunness as an ascriptive identity, the presence of roles, obligations and responsibilities may be perceived as potential hurdles to build a civil society. Moreover, in the Pakhtun culture we find certain norms and structures that seem to marginalize certain groups on the basis of gender and profession. A masculine social patterning seemed to have contributed to the violence against women.

The above discussion may imply that the Pakhtun culture is a static social space wherein interactions are determined and reproduced by existing norms and structures quite mechanically. Structure and norms seemed to determine human affairs and human agency seems to take a back seat. It seems to imply

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alliance with AIML. They were inspired by Shah Walli-u-Allah reformist school of thought and issued religious decrees or fatwa against bidats (innovations) and shirk (Polytheism). They also launched struggle against Ahmadis or Qadyanis before partition (Kazmi 2009 p: 76).

[53] Madrasas started appearing in the Indian subcontinent during Muslim rule. However they received great impetus under colonial rule as important spaces of vernacular but religious responses to the British secular educational system. As a result, its syllabus was extremely conservative in spirit opposing all forms of changes within the Islamic Jurisprudence (Rubbin, 1999; Bano, 2010). As boarding and lodging including food was freely available, therefore, young male Afghan refugees flocked to these institutions.

[54] An important cluster of our respondents as discussed in chapter 5 i.e. 'Religionists' seems to resonate this kind of religious approach. However, this thesis does not propose that the religionists are the heirs of such an approach. Instead we argue that the presence of the religionists may be seen in the post-1980s context that includes political and regional geopolitical contexts.

that social structures have a destiny of their own and the social agents have limited potentials to negotiate with them and thus are bound to re-live them.

The following section will not only normatively challenge such implications, but also present an empirical case of cultural dynamism wherein Pakhtun could imagine and practice a new social order. The following section will explore how Pakhtun public sphere imagined and practiced the norms of nonviolence, how the advocacy of women-rights and their inclusion in the public sphere were encouraged and how the 'badal' or revenge seeking tendency was discouraged in order to end bloodshed. While providing an empirical case to support our argument, the following case study will also demonstrate that the desire of a new peaceful social order was constructed from immanent sources, thus, serving as the foundation of our argument.

3.8. The Nonviolent Movement amongst the Pakhtun (1929-1938):[55] The proto-type of civil society

The nonviolent movement amongst the Pakhtun was an entirely unexpected resurrection for some as Pakhtun were consistently perceived and popularized as warriors, prone to violence and their social order as male-centric (Banerjee, 2000). Yet from deep within their folds and their culture there emerged a social movement, a movement of reformation and non-violence, a movement of a persistent and organized attempt to redefine their social order (Jansson, 1988; Easwaran, 1999; Shah, 1999; Banerjee, 2000; Mehsud, 2010). The movement is an empirical evidence of how people, as active agents, can negotiate with their

[55] Although the Movement was formally started in 1929 yet activities started off as early as 1912 (Shah, 1999; Benerjee, 2000).

social structures that they inhabit, how tradition can be challenged by revisiting some of the norms that inform their sociability and how to exchange the norms of revenge and intolerance with those of civility and non-violence. The movement exhibits its rootedness in the same cultural habitat, seeking inspiration from the immanent systems, i.e. Islam and Pakhtunwali, thereby, transforming the notions of Islam and Pakhtunwali as life-ideals. The movement also exhibits how people, immersed in ascriptive identities and cousinly relationships, were able to challenge violence and imagine and practice non-violence in the absence of marketization and liberalism.

3.9. The Context of the movement

The arrival of the British in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 1849, changing the geography of the region to suit their imperial designs by drawing the border, Durand Line, in 1893 that enabled them to 'construct a rock and iron curtain on the fringe of their Raj' and setting up different administrative units[56] had far reaching impacts on the Pakhtun community (Caroe 2001; Banerjee, 2000: 24). The perception of NWFP as the gateway to the British India and that of Pakhtun as rebellious and volatile justified the enormous deployment of huge armies and implementation of Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) (Uberoi, 1978; Weiss, 1995; Shah, 1999; Raqib, 2005). The denial of political status to the NWFP for three decades (1901-1932), unlike other British Indian provinces and the increased taxation mainly in Peshawar and Mardan further complicated the situations

[56] KP was ruled from Punjab for about 52 years (1849-1901). Gaining the partial status of a province unlike other Indian provinces, FATA was cut off and was governed directly by the Governor General of India whereas small principalities remained independent in KP (Shah, 1999).

(Caroe, 2001)[57]. Consequently raids and attacks on the British check posts, officers and other strategic places became a common feature in the province (Banerjee, 2000).

However, the non-violent movement was not the result of political circumstances alone and the local dynamics of the Pakhtun culture also played a key role. The realization amongst the protagonists of the movement was strong that in the presence of badal (revenge) that has contributed to the disunity, mutual rivalries, and bloodshed, a concerted movement is a remote possibility that will neither win their freedom from the British nor from their oppressive social structures (Easwaran, 1999).

3.10. The rise of the movement

It was in this context that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988) emerged with the realization of how to win freedom and how to end the miseries of the Pakhtun community by empowering them. However, he soon realized the constraining impacts of some of the social structures. Thus, in order to win freedom, Pakhtun culture must be reformed in order to purge it of all the potential inhibitions that has held them back from embracing the ideals of civility and progress (Shah, 1999; Easwaran, 1999). Once this realization was articulated he was soon joined by a number of influential people both religious clerics and landed class. Mobilising a large number of Pakhtun masses, the movement, however, would have not emerged if the 'wildest and rudest', as

[57] The poor status of the region can be gauged from the fact that only 25 were literate out of every 1000 in 1911 and most of the administrative officers posted in KP were British rather Indians as out of 124 only 17 were Indians till 1947 (Banerjee, 2000: 44).

perceived by the British (Caroe, 2001: 337), had not made conscious decisions to join the movement (Banerjee, 2000).

Commencing his reform agenda in 1912, they focused on education first, opening a large number of schools which emphasized both religious and secular learning in the mother tongue, connecting them with the past and infusing a nationalist spirit (Kakakhel, 2012). Anjuman Islah-e-Afghania (Afghan Reform Society) was established in 1921 in order to institutionalize his reformist struggle that soon spread to other parts of the province. This Society, specifically focused on reforming the Pakhtun customs of revenge and encouraging people to shun violence to offer an effective and concerted resistance to the British. In order to empower people that change is in their hands and can only be achieved through struggle, the Society also included tasks such as cleaning, weaving and helping the poor (Shah, 1999; Banerjee, 2000).

To organize his struggle and broaden its horizons, he established Pakhtun Jirga (Pakhtun Council) in 1927 with a multiple socio-political and economic agenda for further reforms. A Pakhtu monthly magazine 'Pakhtun' was issued in May 1928 that reached a circulation of 3000 in 1930s (Banerjee, 2000: 55; Raqib, 2005; Kakakhel, 2012).

In 1929 Khudai Khidmatgaar Tehreek or the Servants of God Movement (KKT) was launched by opening up training camps for voluntary members aimed at cementing unity among Pakhtun and nurturing the norms and practices of nonviolence. The number of volunteers rose from 1000 in 1931 to 100,000 in 1938 (Raqib, 2005: 124). Members were involved in well-designed tasks of writing, reading, cleaning, and spinning. An important trait of this movement

was the open discourse in evening meetings that focused on the struggle and their emancipation. Volunteers before enlisting used to take an oath on the Holy Koran by saying that 'I will not take revenge' and 'I will serve people without regard to their religion or faith' (Banerjee, 2000 p: 74). KKT was open to people of all faiths and attracted Hindus and Sikhs. However, KKT proved to be an important space not only for the low professional class, but also women for the first time in the history of Pakhtun (Easwaran, 1999; Kakkhel, 2012).

The greatest achievement of the KKT was to convince the Pakhtun men of women's low status in Pakhtun society and their importance in the public sphere. As a result, hundreds of women became KKT members, attended meetings and joined or even led protests at different occasions (Banerjee 2000 p: 97-101). A society so imbued with male honor and patriarchal structures was opening up spaces for women, on a large scale, for the first time in its history.

For instance, in the 'Pakhtun' monthly magazine, women articulated their criticism of the social structures and male-norms that inhibited them from seeking education and joining the public sphere (Easwaran, 1999; Kakakhel, 2012). They wrote openly about their subjugation to men in homes, their secondary role in society, advocated for the establishment of separate women's associations, separate women's schools, separate woman-newspaper and expressed their desire to contribute to the development of arts, language and society (Kakakhel, 2012).

The movement, however, remained restricted to the Peshawar valley alone, mainly due to an organized campaign, from the British and then from the Muslim League, to discredit it. It was argued by the opponents that KKT is

propagating the Hindu philosophy of Ahimsa (non-violence), which had nothing to do with Islam and Pakhtunwali.

KKT had to face not only the British Raj but also its rival political party, the Muslim League. As political reforms were introduced in KP in the 1930s, KKT as the political ally of the Indian National Congress easily won elections in 1937 and formed its government. Till 1947 KKT remained a part of wider national resistance against the British. However, as KKT was in alliance with the Indian National Congress, the rival of the Pakistan Muslim League, therefore, after the inception of Pakistan, the Muslim League's leadership that was heading the Pakistani state banned KKT and the 'Pakhtun' magazine and its leadership was arrested under the charges of 'sedition' (Easwaran, 1999: 185). Nevertheless, Bacha Khan and his descendants continued their nonviolent struggle and worked for provincial autonomy and Pakhtun's rights as explored in chapter 4.

3.11. KKT: imagining non-violent spaces

KKT with all its organized and designed activities and training programmes that spread over two decades, creating effects that were deeply felt by the Pakhtun community, was a movement for the desire of cultural shift and an attempt to create a new social order (Shah, 1999; Banerjee, 2000).

Besides creating a number of non-state voluntary associations, the movement also deployed the idioms of non-violence, civility and tolerance, which were not imported from a foreign source, but rather found embedded in their own immanent sources i.e. Pakhtunwali and Islam (Banerjee, 2000). The narrative of Pakhtun bravery and heroism were transformed into tolerance and non-

violence, thus, re-interpreting violence-encouraging norms (Easwaran, 1999). Both the notion of the jihad in Islam and the notions of 'badal' and 'nang' (honor) underwent transformation that was consciously and rationally conceived.

It was a movement of organized and persistent self-reflection, of liberating the marginalized from the oppressive social order and social structures, of empowering the weak to change his/her conditions and of hope to 'establish a non-violent persona from within their own cultural resources' (Jansson, 1988; Banerjee, 2000: 212).

3.12. Conclusion

The liberal model of civil society, which is the focus of research amongst academics and researchers since the 1990s seems to suggest individual liberalism or as Gellner puts it: modularity is the essential precondition of civil society. The case study of this research, i.e. the Pakhtun and their culture has predefined local cultural and religious perspectives and ascriptive identities, which has locked the Pakhtuns in ethnic, cousinly relations. If the liberal model of civil society perceives the ritualised identities and interactions as a serious obstacle to construct a civil society, then chapter 3 challenged this approach by examining, in detail, the internal dynamics of the Pakhtun culture. By exploring the Nonviolent Movement amongst the Pakhtun, it was argued, here, that modularity, marketisation and individual liberalism may not be the essential factors for a civil society to emerge beyond kinship, which also serves as the foundation of our argument in this thesis that alternative routes to construct a civil society may be possible.

The non-state social space in Pakhtun culture, informed by cultural and religious perspectives, has embedded norms and social structures that marginalize certain sections of the society besides encouraging latent violence amongst the Pakhtun. These norms and social structures are preserved in the name of Pakhtun identity and Pakhtun culture by Pakhtun male members. The emergence of KKT was a resistance against such norms and social structures. KKT shows how a society, imbued with tribal structures and consciousness, could transcend and imagine an alternative form of interactions based on non-violence.

While the desire of peace and non-violence kept appearing in individual Pakhtu literary masterpieces, KKT was a more collective but organized outburst of such desire. The segmented and traditional self showed the potentialities of 'cultural creativity' (Banerjee, 2000: 208) to imagine new spaces of interactions and sociabilities, to actively engage with others in the pursuit of non-violence while seeking inspiration from immanent sources.

It is this empirical example that serves our thesis argument and presents a robust challenge to the Gellnerian assumption that 'non-modular' people cannot create a civil society. KKT explicitly shows that a kind of civil society in the sense of a non-state social space emerged in the absence of liberalism and market driven conditions amongst the non-modular people.

As the traditional and segmented self has shown the potentialities to imagine and practice civility and non-violence, therefore, the concept of civil society as a norm of civility and its application in a non-Western context seems relevant. This also coincides with our deployment of the term civil society as a non-state

social space where the norms and structures that encourage both violence and non-violence may be found and thus is a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous space.

This chapter has made the readers of this thesis acquainted with the Pakhtun, their history and culture, which also serves as the cultural and social context of this thesis. The next chapter will focus on the political context and explore how violence has originated and spread in Pakistan. In other words, the two opposing forces, i.e. an authoritarian state and the Taliban's violence, which the 'emergent civil society' challenges, will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

4. Exploring the political context and the rise of violent extremism in Pakistan

4.1. Introduction

Laying out the theoretical framework of the term civil society, and the way this thesis deploys it in chapter 1, chapter 2 presented the detailed constructivist methodology as employed for this thesis and the details of the two field visits, whereas chapter 4 made the readers of this thesis familiar with the Pakhtun, their history, and culture.

While the theoretical framework in chapter 1 may enable us to clearly understand the term, civil society, as a theoretical notion, chapter 3 may enable us to grasp, empirically, the cultural and social context of our case study. This, perhaps, may not help us develop a comprehensive portrait of our context if the political context of our case study is not explored. Besides exploring the political context of our topic in its entirety, this chapter will also investigate the roots, causes, and character of violence in KP. By exploring the political context and the Taliban's violence, this chapter argues that the character of religious intolerance and extremism in Pakistan, in general, and in KP, in particular, at present, can only be understood if the character and the role of the Pakistani state is understood. Building the argument of this thesis further, it is argued in this chapter that the Pakistani state can neither be conceived through the conventional Western understanding of the state as an institution of civilian-representative political forces nor did the Pakistani state evolve the way the

state evolved, as a distinct sphere, in the West. Having emerged from the colonial political milieu, the Pakistani state retained certain colonial characteristics.

However, new regional dynamics also encouraged the state to pursue certain policies, such as Jihad in Afghanistan. The Zia regime in the 1980s, in particular, tried to Islamise the entire Pakistani society. Such events and polices also extracted response from the civic minded people, as the rise of advocacy NGOs in the 1980s demonstrated. This chapter, while presenting the political context, will show that the critical engagement of the civic minded forces with the authoritarian state was triggered by certain political events and the way the Pakistani state interacted with the social forces, which form the sociological background of the rise of advocacy NGOs in Pakistan.

The chapter is divided into six sections. The first section deals with the pre-independence history of Pakistan. The first section explores how the Pakistani state has retained some of the colonial traits such as patronising societies and social figures to discredit political opposition. Also, this section informs us that the religious leadership, which was present at the societal level in the pre-independence period, was posing reactionary resistance to the British supremacy in the subcontinent.

The second section deals with how a political elitist, but secular, leadership emerged since 1857 as the British formally assumed the charge of the Indian subcontinent. It was this political leadership which mobilised masses for the struggle of a political resistance against the British Raj. However, this political struggle was not entirely secular rather used the idiom of Islam to mobilise the

Muslim population against other rival political forces. The deployment of Islamic lexicon during the Indepedence Movement was to have great ramifications for certain political and religious forces in the post-1947 period.

Section 3 will focus on the processes of the state formation in Pakistan. Pakistani state, as a result, assumed highly centralized, authoritarian, and exclusionary tendencies, and remained occupied by non-representative and non-political forces. This section will explore how the centralized state discouraged political processes, thereby, diminishing the possibility of democratic forces to grow. It is this power struggle between the democratic political forces and the undemocratic, non-political forces, which have led the writers of the political history of Pakistan to perceive this struggle as the struggle of civil society.

The centralized state's deployment of 'Islam' as a tool of legitimacy, was yet another anomaly that seemed to have contributed to the growth of religious forces both within and outside the state. While societal development, provision of security and granting fundamental human rights to the citizens were neglected by the elitist, authoritarian state, the centralised state also used Pakistani society and culture for its own strategic objectives. In particular, this section deals with the Zia regime (1978-88) for implementing a particular brand of Islam as the policy of the state. His Isalmization encouraged religious groups at the societal level, which led to sectarian rifts between Sunni and Shias. As the Afghan Jihad began, jihad, as an ideal, soon penetrated deep within the social fabric wherein religious groups were patronized by the state and as a result a number of militant groups emerged.

The Afghan Jihad and the Zia regime present the sociological background in which modern NGOs emerged in Pakistan. Section four will demonstrate that civil society despite being suppressed, showed the ability to perform the important task of criticizing the state as a number of advocacy NGOs, women's associations in particular, emerged during the Zia regime in the 1980s to resist his Islamisation policies.

Section 5 explores the origin of the Taliban as it emerged in the wake of the Afghan war in the 1990s and how the Taliban shifted their operational basis to FATA in Pakistan in the post 9/11 period. The Pakistani state played an important role by backing the Taliban, which created unforeseen but extremely dangerous results both for the state and society. It also explores the meaning of the 'Talibanisation', a form of violent extremism, as it became popular in the local media to describe the Taliban-specific violence.

While section 4 makes reference to the resistance that emerged from the non-state social space in the 1980s against the authoritarian central state, section 6 mentions the peace oriented struggle, which has recently emerged in Peshawar amidst violence since 2006-07, which also criticises the state for a number of reasons.

4.2. Pakistan in historical perspective: from the classical period to 1857

Pakistan is a seat of ancient civilizations[58]. The region that includes Pakistan, at present, experienced continued invasions by different groups as it was explored

[58] Indus Valley civilization dates back to 3000 BC to 1500 BC (Kazmi, 2009; Zia, 2009; Britannica, 2013). Stone age relics in the Northern Punjab are believed to be 500,000 years old, rock paintings in Northern Sind believed to be 25,000 years old and the Mehrgarh culture of Baluchistan Plateau dates back to circa 8000 BC to 3000 BC.

in chapter 3 in detail. With the appearance of the Muslim conquerors and dynasties since the 8th century AD, a new Indo-Muslim culture appeared, creating a vast heritage of music, languages, art and architecture.

One of the important remnants of the prolonged Muslim rule, between the 11th and 19th century, was the birth of Jagirdari or 'feudal' system. A Jagirdar or feudal lord was to ensure tax collection in his area and raise armies for the king. This system was revived by the British (1857-1947) to strengthen their rule (Mohiuddin, 2007). However, unlike monarchs concerned about geographical unity, the British sought the political unity of the subcontinent by embedding bureaucracy in different social and political institutions. In order to strengthen the 'social base' of the British Raj (rule), deployment of bureaucracy managed to find new clients at the local level creating new patterns of patronage (Jalal, 1995: 12). The Pakistani state, after its inception in 1947, had to revive and strengthen this trend of patronizing the local elites to create political legitimacy and undo political resistance. The Pakistani state's interference in the non-state social space may be seen in the context of these specific historical dynamics. However, it was this privileged class of landlords that became influential not in the independence movement before the emergence of Pakistan, but also emerged as a new economic class of industrialists after 1947.

Religion, Islam, though an important perspective of the Muslim population of the subcontinent, was neither politicised by the Muslim rulers in the post-16 century period, nor Islam assumed the principle guiding force of the central administration for various Muslim rulers. It was the monarch alone, with overwhelming powers, whose personal disposition, whether benevolent or

ruthless, decided the style of the administration (Zia, 2009). However, outside the courts and kingly politics, the realization that Islam needs to be kept un-contaminated from potential Hindu influences was gaining momentum, at the societal level, amongst the Muslim Ulama[59] (Kazmi, 2009)[60]. The emergence of these religious figures seems to show that alongside the kings, courts and feudal lords, the Ulama had assumed a new leadership of the Muslim community in the subcontinent. While the decline of the Mughal Empire was in full swing in the early part of the 19th century, the British were preparing for a century long rule of the sub-continent that formally commenced in 1857[61] (Mohiuddin, 2007).

As the British political forces were gaining ascendency, the Muslim religious leadership, in order to resist their authority, issued a series of religious decrees against Western institutions and norms, which some historians believed to have contributed to reactionary tendencies among the Muslim population. For instance, the use of typewriters and loudspeakers were declared as un-Islamic (Ali, 2011). While the Muslim society, in general, was experiencing the rise of religious leadership and religious mobilization in some parts of the subcontinent against the British, it soon witnessed a new breed of leaders who were not necessarily using religion as a tool of resistance against the British rule, which is explored in the following section.

[59] Ulama, the plural of Alim, mean Muslim religious scholars.

[60] Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, known as Mujaddad (1564-1624), Shaikh Abdul Haq Mohhadith Delhivi (1551-1642), and Shah Walli-u-Allah (1703-1762) are just a few very important names dedicated to the task of purifying Islam in the sub-continent. It was Shah Walli-u-Allah's grand children who had to travel from central India to KP to mobilize Pakhtun for Jihad against the Sikh and the British Raj in the 1830s (Kazmi, 2009).

[61] The British had already conquered parts of present day Pakistan. The British annexed Sindh in 1843 whereas Punjab including present day KP was conquered in 1849 by the British. However it was in 1857 that the last Mughal Emperor was dethroned and imprisoned.

4.3. The arrival of new politics in the subcontinent: the post 1857 period

In the pre-1857 era, politics was the sole domain and personal business of the monarchs, princes and their court-men. The arrival of the Western central authority with an emphasis on parliamentary forms of politics and the Victorian style administration, though overwhelmingly informed by colonial imperatives, triggered political mobilization within the local communities (Mohiuddin, 2007). However, political mobilization was equally assisted by the growing realization that the struggle against the British was no more possible through an armed struggle[62]. Here it may be pertinent to point out while recalling Mamdani's (1996) argument that this specific kind of new political struggle, emanating from within the masses, aimed at independence is very rarely seen as the emergence of civil society. Although both the Muslim and Hindu historians call it an independence movement, yet some have recently started seeing it as the earliest example of civil society as argued by Sudipta Kaviraj who calls it 'an inchoate civil society' (2001: 310).

During the British imperial period (1857-1947), we see an educated Muslim secular elite class who successfully generated Muslim separatist politics in the pre-independence period (Jalal, 1995) and which, ultimately, led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947 (Gardezi, 1983; Kazmi, 2009). Thus the Muslim society, in general, which experienced religious leadership in the pre-British times and afterwards[63], was experiencing secular leadership and was presenting a kind of civil society informed by resistance against the colonial enterprise while remaining mostly non-violent. However, it does not mean that the religious,

[62] As the battles of Plassy (1757) and Buxer (1764) exhibited.

[63] Instances of mobilization in the name religion in KP were referred to in chapter 2.

political struggle vanished completely rather it assumed new importance within the emerging political dynamics of the sub-continent. Nevertheless, it is the role of the religious, political parties after the creation of Pakistan that is relevant to our thesis as discussed below.

A number of political parties slowly emerged amongst the local population during this period. The All India Muslim League (AIML), being the most important one as it led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947, had been established in 1906 (Mohiuddin, 2007; Kazmi, 2009). AIML, moving from its initial position of inculcating loyalty amongst the Muslim population for the British to a joint struggle with Indian National Congress (INC) against the British and then moving further to oppose INC, emerged as an important political party of the Muslim community. An important reason for the popularity of AIML was its attempt to couch its political struggle in religious terms in order to mobilize the Muslim population and compete with other rival Muslim political parties who were challenging AIML's claim to be the sole representative Muslim party. For instance, KKT in KP was in alliance with the INC and opposed AIML's separatist politics and the very idea of partitioning of the subcontinent based on religious identity.

AIML's emphasis on Islam proved to be effective in mobilizing people for a separate Muslim state for the Muslim community[64] where 'Islam as a cultural force' was imagined (Kazmi, 2009: 115). The presence of religious politics,

[64] 'I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state' as the Muslim scholar Iqbal (1978-1938) pronounced in 1930 (Weston, 1992: 75 as cited by Mohiuddin, on p: 64).

though overshadowed by AIML and INC rivalries, were to have great consequences after the birth of Pakistan (Jalal, 1995).

Close to the year of independence in 1947 and AIML's impressive performance in the 1946 elections, influential, local landlords in Punjab switched sides from other political parties to AIML (Mohiuddin, 2007). However, the division of Bengal and Punjab, and the Kashmir issue created deep seated conflicts between the newly emerged countries of India and Pakistan, which seemed to have great repercussions for Pakistan (Kazmi, 2009).

4.4. The post-independence period: the arrival of a strong central state

Pakistan was enmeshed in a number of serious challenges since its inception. Although the locus of some of these challenges lies within the event of partition of 1947, yet the inheritance and embracement of various colonial legacies that found strong expression within the state institutions needs an equal understanding (Alavi, 1983; Jalal, 1995). If the arrival of about 7 million refugees[65] generated impending problems for the newly emerged state, then the immediate conflict with India over Kashmir[66], besides the division of assets[67],

[65] The newly emerged state had neither the administrative infrastructure in place, nor the resources to set up one to face the daunting task of settling nearly 7 million refugees from India. There were no offices, office furniture or stationery or state machinery in 1947 to carry out the daunting task of refugee settlement. Nearly 6,500,000 people came to Pakistan from India (Kazmi, 2009: 186).

[66] Kashmir, a princely state in the north, still remains the disputed area and a great source of tension between Pakistan and India.

[67] In financial assets Pakistan was initially allotted 5% of the total Indian capital if Pakistan was to agree to accept 20% liability of Indian debts. But as negotiation continued Pakistan's asset raised up to 17.5% which was withheld too. Pakistan had to request loan from a Pakistan based bank Habib Bank to resolve its financial issues (Kazmi, 2009: 187-88).

and water disputes[68] led to the prioritization of security concerns within the state's policy.

These conditions, to a certain extent, deeply impacted the processes of state formation that in turn complicated the state's relations with smaller provinces. As a result the state emerged more centralized, powerful, authoritarian and exclusionary, tilted overwhelmingly towards non-elected institutions, mainly the military while accommodating and benefiting client-elites. Although like the colonial state, the Pakistani state also patronized certain social groups within the non-state social space, yet different political voices did offer resistance to the powerful state, which the state tried to neutralize by mobilizing the idioms of Islam.

4.5. Processes of state-formation: The occupation of the central state by non-representative forces

The very event of independence had hurled both the state and people into a unique relationship. Pakistan, in 1947, consisted of two wings, East and West (see map in Appendix E). While the Eastern part was ethnically homogeneous to a great extent, the Western part was composed of four provinces[69] and inhabited by four major ethnic groups (see map in Appendix H). On the other hand AIML, which was now called ML (Muslim League) in Pakistan, which originated from the Muslim-minority provinces in India before partition, was led by leaders who also came from those provinces. ML, as such, lacked the

[68] Water dispute with India and tension on its eastern border with hostile Afghanistan that was denunciating the Durand line created problems for the nascent state of Pakistan.

[69] Punjabis in Punjab, Sindhis in Sindh, Baluchis in Balchustan and Pakhtun in N.W.F.P. N.W.F.P was renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in April 2009. Thos who migrated from India in 1947 were known as Mohajirs.

organizational base and presence in the West Pakistan and, thus, needed new tools of legitimacy in Pakistan (Jalal, 1995). There was no cultural, linguistic, and historical homogeneity in the country called Pakistan, more specifically in the Western part, which was now led by ML. The ethnic diversity was perceived as a serious threat to the creation of a single nation by the then ML's leadership (Samad, 1995).

The ML's leadership was, probably, conscious of this challenge. In this regard, the head of the new state and the ML, Mr. Jinnah's address to the first Constituent Assembly may be a pertinent example. 'You may belong to any religion, caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state' (as cited by Kazmi, 2009: 185). A number of Jinnah's speeches around 1947 clearly show his awareness of the diversity of the people of Pakistan and their associational legacies whether religious, ethnic or cultural. Deploying the idiom of 'citizen' was not without reason for him, which could potentially build political unity. Deploying the idioms of citizenship offered new possibilities of recasting state-people and people-to-people interactions, which, if actively implemented might have led to the creation of an enabling environment for the potential emergence of civil society. However, ML's response to the already existing political rivals in Pakistan who showed the tendency of retaining independent political opinions seemed discouraging. For instance, political leaders of oppositional political party were imprisoned and their parties were banned (Samad, 1995). Moreover the ideal of citizenship seemed more a rhetoric once seen in the backdrop of certain decisions taken by the ML leadership in the immediate context of 1947. One of such decisions was

imposing Urdu as a national language that unleashed linguistic and regional resistance.

The ML had chosen a religious ideology to mobilize the Muslim masses during the independence movement, which potentially held in check different linguistic and ethnic affinities of the Muslim population before the emergence of Pakistan in 1947 (Alavi, 1983). However, having achieved a state, the ML leadership wanted to devise and implement a monolithic ideology in order to build a nation from linguistically and culturally diverse groups. Urdu was spoken by none of the majority groups in Pakistan in both wings as it was the language of only 4% of the people (Oldenburg, 1985: 711). However, once Urdu was declared as the national language of Pakistan, it was soon perceived as a symbol of the state's repressive character by various ethnic groups to annihilate their respective cultural identities (Jalal, 1995). The imposition of Urdu also meant that it would help only the migrant community to access state resources, which strained the relations between the two wings i.e. East and West, but also between the center and the smaller provinces in the Western wing. This led to the rise of linguistic opposition all across Pakistan, which was strongly repressed by the central state. Political grievances of the smaller provinces soon assumed linguistic movements such as Bengali, Sindhi, and Pakhtu language movement. These linguistic movements helped different linguistic groups to maintain their distinct cultural identity (Rahman, 2005). The feeling of marginalization in smaller provinces[70] is still felt, which our findings bring out in chapter 6.

[70] Punjab was and is still the largest province, population-wise in Pakistan. Baluch, Sindhi and Pakhtun nationalist still put up an agenda of their cultural rights before the central state.

The idiom of citizenship received another blow, which is revealed in ML's interaction with the already existing political forces in Pakistan. The ML was conscious of its weak organizational base in Pakistan as the ML leadership came from Muslim minority provinces in India (Jalal, 1995; Ziring, 2005). However, the ML having achieved Pakistan, assumed that it had the sole moral authority to govern Pakistan and ensure its survival. Any political opposition to ML was perceived to be tantamount to opposition to the very idea of Pakistan (Oldenburg, 2007). As a result, the growing vocal demand for provincial autonomy was perceived to be a serious challenge to the survival of the state and the project of nation building (Askari, 2000). In this regard and quite relevant to this thesis, is the political oppositional mobilization in KP. KKT's alliance with INC, an arch rival of the ML during the independence movement made KKT a rival of ML in KP. KKT was able to win the election in 1946 and made their government. However, it was soon dismissed by the ML after Pakistan came into being. Ghaffar Khan, the leader of KKT, established a political party, All-Pakistan People's Party, which was renamed later as People's Organization, on March 1948, in order to check the centralizing tendencies of the ML and advocate their own political agenda. It included oppositional leaders from all provinces except Punjab. Its agenda was diametrically opposite to that of the ML i.e. seeking provincial autonomy, good relations with India, and cultural freedom (Samad, 1995). Such political mobilization was not allowed to grow and led to the imprisonment of political leaders. KKT was banned, 'Pakhtu' magazine was forcibly stopped and the KKT's leadership was imprisoned on the charges of sedition (Banerjee, 2000). Public opinion was strictly controlled in Pakistan as in 1948 three journals were banned, whereas by 1953 in Punjab

alone 31 newspapers were banned. Controlling the press became more systematic in the 1960s (Niazi, 1986 cited by Oldenburg, 2007: 50-62). A kind of civil society or 'the inchoate civil society' that had emerged during the independence movement as mentioned above, albeit informed by different political goals, resorted to coercion and misuse of the state power against their political opponents once it came into power. Mamdani's (1996) and Kaviraj's (2001) argument by calling anti-colonial independence movement a civil society seems quite contested, once seen in the backdrop of this development, wherein a political party, the ML, that led an independence movement started suppressing independent political opinions. At the same time, it also raises a fundamental question whether or not a political party is an empirical example of civil society. This important theme becomes quite contested amongst the respondents of this research also as will be shown in chapter 6.

Denying political rights to the people, the ML's leadership did not hold any national or provincial elections in Pakistan as they feared that being in minority in Pakistan they would be dislodged by the existing political oppositions (Waseem, 2005). Soon the discourse of citizenship, which could have generated democratic narrative, was replaced by the deployment of an Islamic narrative, another important aspect of the construction of a monolithic ideology to build a single, unified nation (Ziring, 2005).

The Pakistani state soon emerged as a state with a stronger center rather than investing autonomy in its federating unit as promised during the Pakistan Movement for Independence (Samad, 1995) it thus continued with the legacy of a centralized state as practiced by the colonials in the pre-independence period

(Jalal, 1995). The ML leadership relied heavily on the institution of bureaucracy (Sayeed, 1968; Alavi, 1983). Bureaucracy was already invested with immensely high powers in the provinces of NWFP (KP), Punjab and Baluchistan during the colonial era as a means to curb political resistance (Sayeed, 1968; Jafferlot, 2002). The '...erect figure of a district officer in the middle of an excited procession...determination written on his face...' was used, then, to rig elections dismiss parliament and inhibit all possible political processes through coercion (Oldenburg, 2007: 38). The evidence of their strong position within the central state can be judged from the fact that the Governor General (GG), Ghulam Mohammad[71], a former bureaucrat, after dismissing parliament twice, installed his famous Cabinet of the Talents, which included both military and civil bureaucrats in 1954 (Alavi, 1983).

Soon after 1947, the Pakistan Army slowly emerged as yet another powerful institution. The Pakistan military was publicly perceived to be the only organized institution capable of fighting the Indian threat. However ML's leadership sought army's intervention, now and then, to restore order within the country as it did after Punjab's riots in 1951 (Oldenburg, 2007). Besides relying on bureaucracy, ML's leadership heavily relied on army too (Cohen, 1995; Jalal, 1995). The growing regional security concerns led to the prioritization of security imperatives over all other issues, such as creating a coherent political narrative (Samad, 1995; Waseem, 2005). The central state was soon occupied by the two non-elected institutions, i.e. civil bureaucracy and military oligarchy obstructing the chances of a true democracy to grow (Jalal,

[71] He was third GG of Pakistan (1951-55). The office of GG was abolished in 1958 and a new office of 'President' was introduced.

1995; Malik, 1999; Ahsan, 2005). However, this did not mean that the state, where the balance of power was clearly tilted towards civil-military oligarchy and where in turn the military occupied a well entrenched position, ignored the dominant socioeconomic classes or their interests. The central state extended all support to the influential individuals such as landlords to patronize and co-opt them (Alavi, 1983; Jalal, 1995; Talbot, 2000).

Despite a strong centralized state and attempts to compose a homogeneous nation the Eastern wing of Pakistan became an independent country in December 1971 after a civil war[72] whereas in the West Pakistan's recurrent martial law regimes further strengthened the central state. Unable to resolve political power sharing, between different groups, led to the first martial law in Pakistan in 1958. General Ayub's military regime (1958-69) laid the foundation of institutionalizing military rule within the state apparatus that was followed by General Zia (1978- 1988) and General Musharraf (1999-2007).

Such a centralized state also affected the way private economy emerged in Pakistan. In 1947 the most dominant class was landed elites. However, as Hindu traders left Pakistan, the local rural-based landlords, mainly in Punjab and Sindh, started dominating the economy by establishing different agricultural industries. Although an indigenous bourgeoisie was born in Pakistan in the mid 1950s, yet they had to work under strong bureaucratic patronage. By 1968 only 22 families in Pakistan controlled about 66 percent of industrial capital. Unlike the landowners who had direct access to the state as they were members of the ruling class also, the indigenous bourgeois relied on bureaucracy alone as they

[72] Bangladesh, formerly known as East Pakistan, became independent in Dec: 1971.

could not deploy political representations at that time (Alavi, 1983). During the colonial period the growth of industrial development in India was hampered by the government through a strong bureaucratic control as the Control of Capital Issues manifest wherein the private entrepreneurs could not establish their respective businesses without a formal approval from the government. This feature of the colonial state was retained by the central state wherein bureaucracy held the power to issue licenses and permits and controlled access to credit and business policies. The government-controlled financial institutions such as Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC) and Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP) channelled the foreign funds to the favoured ones as 65 percent of the loans delivered by PICIC was given to only 37 percent business families (Jalal, 1995: 153). Thus the market was emerging, but it benefited only few elites or those who had access to those elites and the kind of bourgeoisie that was emerging relied on the state's patronage. So the way the bourgeoisie emerged under specific conditions in the West in 17th and 18th centuries Europe and led to demands for the rule of law and rights, did not happen in the post-colonial context of Pakistan. Mustapha Pasha (2005) argues that the potential contribution of the bourgeoisie towards the construction of a civil society may not be a valid approach. Referring to the relationship of civil society and market economy, within the context of Pakistan, he argues that the market economy, in Pakistan, has prevailed within an environment where there are no checks and balances and, as a result, has led to the emergence of a class, given to personal aggrandizement. The accumulation of capital in the absence of a robust framework of citizenship and the rule of

law, as Pasha suggests, seems to have created negative repercussions for the potential emergence of civil society in Pakistan.

The ML use of Islam galvanized certain religious, political parties after 1947. For instance, Jumath-e-Islami (JI)[73] opposed the very idea of Pakistan, during the Pakistan Movement, yet after 1947, it started pressurizing the state to implement Sharia rule and declare Ahmadi[74] as non-Muslims (Ziring, 2005). While the non-religious opposition was relatively easy to deal with as both coercion and selective patronage were used against them, the religious opposition was more sensitive to deal with as it involved religion which had inspired ML's movement for decades as well as being the religion of the majority in Pakistan.

Despite being steeped in the Western-secular traditions, the ruling elites, after 1947, perceived a specific strategic value in the use of a religious lexicon as a rhetoric that offered the possibilities of claiming public legitimacy (Alavi, 1983; Jalal, 1995). Religion, as another aspect of monolithic ideology besides the Urdu language, was used to neutralize linguistic, cultural and regional opposition (Alavi, 1983; Samad, 1995). As the state was using the idioms of 'Islam', therefore, it seemed to have encouraged further the religious political parties. They soon started pressurizing the state that only a Muslim male can lead the state as a president or a prime minister as there is no role for women in the legislative bodies. Such religious forces, ulitmatley, turned their barrels against

[73] JI is an Islamic political party that maintains a high profile in current Pakistani politics.
[74] Ahmadi are the adherents of Mirza Ghualm Ahmad (1835-1908) who claimed to be the divine reformer.

the Ahmadi[75] by demanding that the state must declare them non-Muslims in the early 1950s. They were eventually declared non-Muslims in the 1973 constitution (Ziring, 2005). The first constitutional document 'Objective Resolution', produced in March 1949, formally included the discourse of Islam as the ideology of the state, which declared 'Islam' to be the state religion. According to the document sovereignty belonged to Allah (God) and no law that contradicts the spirit of Islam is to be passed by the assembly. It seemed a curious mix of democratic ideals and faith and was opposed by religious minority members in the assembly. Nonetheless, some religious, political parties such as JI was still advocating for more Islamic measures (McGrath, 1998).

The centralized state captured by the military-civil oligarchy kept these religious forces at bay in the first two decades after independence until they found a sympathetic ruler to their Sharia-cause in the 1980s (Ziring, 2005; Hussain, 2007). The blockade of political processes, tensions with India over Kashmir and Zia's Islamism (1977-88) might have also contributed to the radicalization of some religious groups in the 1980s (Synnott, 2009). Under the Zia regime (1977-88), religious minorities and women grew more insecure while religious, political parties and religious forces in the non-social space were encouraged and, then, started asserting their voices within the state.

To Islamize Pakistani society, Zia-ul-Haq's (1978-88) used a particular brand of Sunni Islamic ideology, which was also a tool of legitimacy for him (Alavi, 1983). Some argue that in the Zia's military regime the perception that Pakistan does

[75] Ahmadi is a minority sect in Pakistan, who do not share the Islmic belief that Prophet Mohammad was the last prophet.

not have to ensure the security of its geographical borders, but also to protect its religious identity became stronger (Amir, 2011). His selective use of Islamic Laws made both religious minorities and women more vulnerable. The Zia regime, however, created far reaching implications at the social level. Several new so called Islamic punishments as enshrined in his infamous 'Hudood Ordinance[76]' were introduced such as cutting the right hand of thieves, stoning to death in cases of adultery and public whipping for alcohol drinkers. According to 'Hudood Ordinance' a woman had to produce two witnesses in the case of a rape. It also meant that in the case of failure to do so a rape victim may be charged with adultery. 'Qanoon e Shahadat[77]' (Witness law) was also the Zia's regime special feature that further reduced the status of women in Pakistani society. The Objective resolution that was passed in 1949 and, which remained a preamble to the constitution of 1973 was also made by Zia a substantive part of the constitution. Zia also introduced separate electorates for religious minorities, which was abolished by Musharraf in 2002 (DAWN, 2012). He made special Sharia benches at courts to ensure that all laws are in strict accordance with Islam. He also made the blasphemy law stricter. Between 1986 and 2014, nearly 4000 cases have been reported under the blasphemy law compared to only 7 cases between 1927 and 1986. Almost 50 percent of the people charged with blasphemy were non-Muslims (DAWN, 2012). For instance, amongst the most recent assassination inspired by the blasphemy law carried out by the non-state actors are the murder of the Punjab's governor in 2010 (by

[76] Hudood Ordinance was the criminal law introduced in 1979, which had great repercussion for women. Honour killing was also given impunity and women were discouraged to report rape case.

[77] This meant the court witness of two women will be equal to the witness of one man.

his own bodyguard) and the assassination of a Christian minister of Minority Affairs in 2011 who advocated some changes in the blasphemy laws (ICAN, 2014).

Zia's Islamization generated serious implications for the Pakistani society as it seemed to have encouraged certain sectarian groups that led to serious violent Sunni-Shia rifts. Besides making an attempt to Islamize the country, his regime also sought to de-politicize the entire non-state social space in Pakistan. This is evident in his strict repression of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) that was an alliance of all banned political parties, religious minorities and some civil society organizations mainly women and which emerged against the Zia's military regime in the early 1980s.

However, the rise of religion in Zia's regime ought to be seen in the context of the regional geo-strategic dynamics. The Afghan war (1979-88) changed the complexion of Pakistani politics, contributing to a further consolidation of the military in the central state as enormous assistance was provided by the US[78] to back the holy war (Jalal, 1995). Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), an intelligence agency, gained enormous power in his regime that played a key role in popularizing Afghan Jihad but also manipulating the local political landscape (Hussain, 2007). Religion was used for strategic aims in order to mobilize people for the holy war. The ideal of jihad soon penetrated deep within the social fabric wherein religious groups were patronized by the state and as a

[78] A total of 7US$ billion aid including fighter aircraft and tanks besides the 3.2US$ military and economic aid came from US during the war. (Mohiuddin, 2007: 192). Foreign aid reached 2 billion $ per annum (Mohiuddin, 2007: 110).

result a number of militant groups emerged (Hussain, 2007) as discussed in the following section.

The mushrooming of the Madaris (religious seminary) in KP and Baluchistan and the growing 'militant culture' was to have great consequences for the people later in the post 9/11 period in Pakistan (Hussain, 2007: 77). During the Afghan war nearly 1000 madaris were opened between 1982 to 1988 in KP and Baluchistan (Hussain, 2007: 80). The tribal region in KP became the operational ground for Jihad and the ideal of Jihad was popularized to attract common people to the 'holy war'. Islamic political parties, close to the military establishment, were patronized by the state as they shared the ideal of both Jihad and the implementation of Sharia in the country; The state, however, might also have used kinship relations, linguistic and cultural bonds that already existed, in order to mobilize local people for the sacred cause of jihad. For instance, the Afghanistan's war was projected by the state as the struggle of Pakhtun against the Russians (Rashid, 2010). It was not only the Afghan war that extracted Pakistan's interest, but the unresolved issue of Kashmir also acquired a new importance and momentum in Zia's period. Patronizing different Sunni militant groups in Kashmir became a state policy.

While under foreign aid, the Pakistani economy was improving, black economy also emerged in Zia's regime. The Black market economy included drug money, smuggling, and illegal arms sales, which was mainly conducted across the Pak-Afghan borders and emerged during the Afghan Jihad. The Balk economy formed almost 20-30% of GDP in Pakistan due to Pakistan involvement in the Afghan war (Mohiuddin, 2007: 113).

Besides leaving behind a more sectarian and ethnically fragile society, Zia also left a well entrenched military within the state institutions against which all successive governments in the 1990s struggled. Reminiscent of the 1950s[79], the powerful president[80] dismissed three elected governments between 1988 and 1999 while the fourth one was overthrown by General Musharraf in October 1999.

If the Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan war was an important feature of Zia's regime, then Musharraf's regime witnessed a new wave of ethnic and sectarian tensions in Pakistan as the Pakistani state remained involved in the regional strategic objectives by helping the Afghan Taliban in the 1990s to pursue their strategic objectives in the region. During his regime, Pakistan became a front line state in the War against Terror after 9/11. However, the Taliban phenomenon soon shifted its operational base in the Pakistani region of FATA, as the fleeing Taliban from Afghanistan in post 9/11 period found safe sanctuaries in FATA, where they managed to re-organize themselves and spread their influence to other of Pakistan.

4.6. The arrival of NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) in the 1980s

The security dilemmas, which emanated from Pakistan-India tension over Kashmir, not only prevailed its character, but also consistently claimed high chunks of budgets. The national economy underwent further depression due to

[79] From 1947 to 1958, seven Prime Ministers and four Governor General remained part of the central state.

[80] General Zia equipped the office of the president with the 8th Amendment that meant that the President can dismiss the entire cabinet.

rising debts in the late 1980s.[81] The government, as a result, failed to invest in the social sector, which remained highly marginalized[82]. Non-investment in the social sector meant a high rise in poverty and further dependency of the local people on influential groups and individuals. Investment in the social sector, mainly education, might have contributed to the emergence of a civil society, which could have questioned the legitimacy of the state (Talbot, 2000). An alternative to social investment was the redistribution of lands, which remained a political rhetoric to mobilize masses (Alavi, 1988). The landed class, owing to their political influence and power, managed to subvert any attempt at land distribution (Jalal, 1995).

It was amidst these social and economic conditions that NGOs emerged during the Zia regime. However, their emergence was also triggered by the curtailment of the political and social rights of Pakistani people. As a result, not only associations that focused on service provisions, but given to advocacy of human rights also emerged. As Zia introduced the 'Hudood Ordinance' and 'Qanoon e Shahadat' (witness law) it exacted a strong response from women. It was in 1981 that the Women Action Forum (WAF) was established to resist the inferior status of women as enshrined in the Witness law (ICAN, 2014). Similarly, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) also emerged during that period, which gained enormous stature, with the passage of time, to advocate the fundamental rights of people.

[81] Only 4% was spent on social services whereas 64% of revenues in 1949-50 were allocated to defence (Noman, 1990 cited on p: 94 Mohiuddin, 2007).

[82] For example in Zia's regime, in education, the investment suffered a cutback from 2.1% of the GDP in 1976-77 to 1.5% in the early 1980s (Mohiuddin, 2007: 114). Less than 1% was spent on health by 1988 (Jalal, 1995: 141).

These NGOs were, however, led by urban educated people. Besides the social, political and economic contexts, it was the Afghan war that also acted as a great impetus to the rise of the NGO phenomenon in order to address refugees-related issues. These local and regional contexts, then coincided with the rise of neoliberal ideology at the international level, that perceived such associations a better medium of social development than the state. As a result, NGOs that started appearing in the 1980s reached 45,000 in 2002 in Pakistan (ADB, 2009).

It may be pertinent to point out that NGOs given to the development and service-provisions were tolerated and assisted by the state, whereas those involved in advocacy campaigns were always pressurized, even by civilian government such as in 1990s. Civil society '… in Pakistan has borne the brunt of repeated military interventions. The state repression came in many forms, including bans on civil society organizations, arrest of civil society leaders and political pressure' (Baig, 2001: 11).

It is these advocacy NGOs that this thesis focuses, in particular, which include NGOs given to the task of criticizing the state for various reasons. As this thesis is also about violent extremism and civil society's potential to contribute to peace in Peshawar, the following section will explore the roots of the Taliban phenomenon in Pakistan. To understand the phenomenon of the Taliban is relevant to this thesis as this thesis draws attention to certain sections within the non-state social space in Peshawar that advocate for peace amidst violence. Nonetheless, the following section also shows that the violent extremism, which assumed a more organized form within the regional geopolitical context,

perhaps, may not be understood without understanding the role of the Pakistani state.

4.7. The Afghan Taliban: the arrival of the prototype of violent extremism in Pakistan

Following the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 by the Russian forces, several Mujahedeen (holy warriors) groups emerged. Most of these groups belonged to the Sunni sect[83] and received enormous financial and military support from the Pakistani state and other international players interested in the Afghan war. However, after the Russian withdrawal in 1988, civil war, amongst the former Mujahedeen groups, led to deplorable socioeconomic conditions and lawlessness in Afghanistan (Roy, 2001). It was from amidst these contexts that the Taliban[84] emerged who were young Afghan students in the religious seminaries, situated in Pakistan, mainly in the two adjoining provinces bordering Afghanistan, i.e. KP and Baluchistan (Goodson, 2002).

The Afghan Taliban were soon joined by the Pakistani based militant and sectarian groups that includes Jaish e Mohammad (JeM)[85] and Sipah e Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)[86], besides a great number of Madaris students mainly from KP and Baluchistan, who fought with them in the late 1990s against the Taliban's

[83] It is the dominant sect in Islam, used in opposition to the Shia sect.

[84] Talib is an Arabic word meaning a religious student while Taliban is its plural.

[85] JeM or the Army of the Mohammad is a Kashmir-focused Jihadist organization. Although it was banned in 2002, yet it operates a number of facilities within Pakistan.

[86] An anti-Shia, radical Sunni organization founded in 1885 in Punjab.

rivals in Afghanistan. These strategic and ideological alliances contributed later to the emergence of the Pakistani Taliban (Maley, 2001; Rashid, 2010).

As the initial rank and file came from the Deobandi Madaris, its conservative curriculum played an enormous role in the making of the Taliban world view (Maley, 2001a). The religious teachings in these institutions project the early period of Islam in the 7th century as the only authentic way of life (Rashid, 2001).

The Afghan Taliban presented a new brand of religious extremism, in which the sole emphasis was on a conservative model of Sharia (Roy, 2001). The coercive imposition of their conservative worldview was freezing the lives of the Afghans in time, as they resorted to severe measure against religious minorities, women, and held public punishments to intimidate people (Fathers, 2000; Gunaratna & Nielsen, 2008). For many commentators, the rise of the Afghan Taliban was assisted by the Pakistan's military whereas financial support came from the Sunni Muslim countries (Davies, 1998; Rashid, 2001; Maley, 2001a; Rubin, 2002).

However, the arrival of the US led NATO forces in Afghanistan, after 9/11, led to their dispersal in Afghanistan and re-emergence and re-grouping inside FATA in Pakistan. Besides the strong military support of the Pakistani military, other resesons, which created favourable conditions for them to survive, regroup and develop a new deadly synergy included: the presence of religious political governments in two key provinces, i.e. Baluchistan and KP[87] who have been

[87] These provinces were ruled by MMA (Mutahida Majlas-e-Amal) an alliance of six religious political parties from 2002 to 2007.

strongly supporting both the Afghan Jihad and the Afghan Taliban, the presence of the former individual Mujahedeen and Jihadi networks in Pakistan, including FATA, who had their roots in the Afghan jihad and Afghan Taliban's conquests in 1990s, and the specific administrative status and the characteristic but extremely difficult geography of FATA[88] (Taj, 2011).

The gravitation of different Pakistan based militant groups that include Lashkar e Taiba (LT), Jaish e Mohammad (JM) and Sepah e Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) with its splinter group Lashkar e Jhangvi (L J)[89] towards foreign fighters was a key, but a dangerous development as most of these militant organizations were banned, due to international pressure, by the Pakistani state in 2002 (Hussain, 2010).

The Pakistani Taliban are neither the Afghan Taliban residue nor a completely new phenomenon. Rather the new course of events in the post 9/11 period led to the astonishing metamorphosis of the militant phenomenon and, instead, the incarnation of a newly deadly nexus appeared soon in the safe havens of FATA that was to spread to other parts of KP and Pakistan.

Some commentators such as Ahmad Rashid (2010) argues that neither geography nor the social aspects of FATA would have helped the deadly re-organization if the Pakistani state had reacted promptly. Their swift resettlement in FATA did not invoke any major reaction from the Pakistani state and as a result, they managed to spread and created a 'Talibanized belt' along

[88] It was already mentioned in chapter 2 that FATA was regulated by FCR wherein Political Agent (PA) was directly answerable to the provincial governor as an agent of the president of the Pakistan. It was beyond the capacity of PA to stop such incursions.

[89] LeJ was founded in 1996 when it broke away from its parent organization SSP. It was banned by the Pakistani state in 2002.

the border (p: 270). Ahmad Rashid's analysis strongly coincides with our respondents' criticism of the state authority as we show in chapter 6. Commentators such as Ahmad Rashid (2010), Zahid Hussain (2012) and Farhat Taj (2011) identify the role of the state in nurturing the Taliban phenomenon and trace the role of the Pakistani state in historical perspective. They argue that the Taliban are the non-state actors and there may be other potential factors such local linguistic networking and ideological affinities amongst different groups besides funding from foreign sources that seem to have contributed to the emergence and sustenance of the phenomenon in Pakistan. Christiana B. Kittner (2007) argument that the role of social geography as safe havens, which potentially enable a terrorist organization to grow and get trained is extremely important in our case too.

Following the footsteps of the Afghan Taliban, in the late 1990s, the local Pakistani Taliban in FATA '...were banning TV… imposing Sharia punishments… and forcing people, particularly women, to adapt to the Taliban dress code and way of life' (Rashid, 2010: 93; Shah, 2010).

A number of military operations by the Pakistan army, under the US pressure, most of which ended in transitory peace deals with the Taliban helped them to use FATA as safe havens to organize themselves and their activities. As the TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan or Pakistani Taliban Movement) emerged in Dec 2007, which is an umbrella organization of about 40 Sunni-militant or like-minded groups, based in FATA (Arabinda, Bukhari & Sadia, 2009) a wave of suicide bombings struck Pakistan.

As the Taliban gained influence in FATA, the Taliban soon spread to the Swat valley (see map in Appendix). The Pakistan military had to launch a successful military operation against the Swati Taliban in 2009. However, its leader Maulana Fazlullah[90] survived and is currently heading TTP.

4.8. Talibanization: a new form of violent extremism

As the respondents of this research regularly used the term 'Talibanization', it is important to explain the entire Taliban phenomenon by explaining the term here. The term became famous in the Pakistani media in order to capture the Taliban's violence. For many it meant the imposition of an austere Taliban-style measure inspired by a rigid interpretation of Sharia law. It is perceived as a 'restriction on personal choice—to veil, to keep a beard, to watch "sinful" DVDs, to listen to music, to send daughters to school, to allow them to work' and to establish 'parallel systems of governance, including courts dispensing extralegal punishments' and use of violence to implement such system are important features of Talibanization (Rashid, 2010; Shapiro & Fair, 2009: 104-05).

The respondents of this research consider Talibanization as an important form of violent extremism. Extremism can be defined as 'a radical expression of one's political values' that is 'characterized by intolerance toward opposing interests and divergent opinions, and it is the primary catalyst and motivation for terrorist behavior' (Gus, 2006: 11). However, some experts may not see terrorism or violence being always inspired by radical opinions and instead

emphasise on the marginalized background of the Pakistani Taliban leaders[91]. For them violent extremism, in the context of Pakistan, is more about power and control (Samad, 2014). While the conditions of social injustices and economic inequality in Pakistan makes the argument of the 'power and control' pertinent yet the Taliban leaders' radical and conservative interpretation of Islam seem to have informed their violence.

4.9. Death and destruction: the final outcome of the Taliban's violence

The Taliban's violence impacted on the public in multiple ways and created a series of serious challenges. It mainly includes: the internal displacement of people; killings of security and police personnel, targeted killings of tribal elders, political figures and peace activists, including women; suicide bombings at religious and cultural places, bombing video/music shops, bombing schools, girls' schools in particular, and direct threats to officials, NGOs workers and artists (Shah, 2010). Violent extremism has created a mass of orphans, widows, and disabled-for-life people, over the years since 2006-07 as people lost their lives. Those who survived, including those who experienced violence indirectly suffered extreme shocks and needed immediate counselling (JPI, 2012).

The internal displacement of local people emerged as a major crisis. People had to leave their homes either because of Taliban's fear and violence or due to military operations. Contrary to official figures, which places the number of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) as 1.4 million, the actual number is far higher as the World Health Organization records 1.8 million by mid 2010 (IDMC,

[91] The leader of the TTP, Baitullah Masood, who was killed in a drone attack in 2013, was a shopkeeper. Mullah Fazlullah the leader of the Swati Taliban was a lift-operator.

2012). In the year 2009 alone, the number of IDPs reached a record level of 6.5-7.5 million people due to military operation in Swat (IDMC, 2012).

Reminiscent of the harsh measures taken by the Afghan Taliban against women, the Pakistani Taliban also attempted to deny them their fundamental rights as human beings and discouraged their presence in public life. The in-public beating, lashing and target killings of women artists and NGOs workers, bombing girls' schools, and forcing women to give up schooling and to observe strict veiling, were some of their measures against women that contributed to their further oppression (Shah, 2010).

Ignoring the religious, political parties and religious clerics who did not disagree with them, they openly targeted the political leadership and workers of secular political parties, for instance Awami National Party (ANP) and PPP (Pakistan People's Party). About 750 workers of ANP, including some of their ministers were killed by TTP (Shackle, 2013).

4.10. Challenges and the desire of 'Aman' (peace)

The violence of the Taliban, besides military operations, created great impacts on the entire Pakhtun society in KP. It seemed as if the Taliban were targeting the local cultural aspects of the Pakhtun culture by bombing local shrines and killing musicians and artists. The associational life, in particular, was also deeply influenced. As many associations in Peshawar were involved in a number of community projects in rural areas, their mobility was restricted. This was expressed by one Pakhtun woman civil society activist from a woman's organization:

'First, we used to travel to remote areas but now we cannot think of that'.

This in turn might have affected the clients and recipients of these projects and programmes. However, it did not lead to the 'culture of silence[92]' which the Taliban wished to create. Instead a number of organizations embraced peace-oriented activities and started opposing the Taliban's violent extremism.

It is amidst this death and destruction that a peace-oriented struggle emerged from amongst common people; the Pakhtun in Peshawar. Amidst intense fear and violence in which no security is guaranteed by the state, ordinary non-state people emerged and made associations in the name of 'aman' (peace). This thesis draws attention to such civic voices of peace in Peshawar, which assumes extreme importance when seen in the backdrop of certain stereotypes labelled against the Pakhtun as wild and cold murderers. The emergence of 'Aman Tehreek' (Peace Movement) in 2009 in Peshawar amidst violence is one instance.

Various associations and individuals embraced peace in Peshawar as their peace consciousness is explored in chapter 6, which shows two important features, i.e. criticality and a deep reflexivity. The first trait implies critiquing the state for failing - to deliver to its own people, to ensure the rule of law and security, whereas reflexivity is focused on understanding the roots of extremism, assessing the role of the different religious groups and imagining different ways to overcome extremism. These tasks are performed by a number of civil society organizations in Peshawar by conducting regular seminars,

[92] This term has been borrowed from the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1921-97) who used it in his book 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (1968).

workshops, research work, holding public rallies and public campaigns. While registered associations in Peshawar quickly assumed peace-related activities, a number of informal associations also showed immense awareness of how violent extremism is taking over their culture. For instance, there are 500 literary groups throughout KP that regularly arrange peace-poetry conferences (BBC, 2014). The very idioms of 'aman' (peace), 'aman mushaira' (peace-poetry), 'aman-jirga' (peace jirga), 'aman-walks' (peace-walks) were popularized by such associations amidst violence.

Alongside this discourse of 'aman' amidst violence, registered associations at the urban level are engaged to address various issues and challenges emanating from the persistent violence. Provision of services to the victims of violence, protection to the internally displaced people, monitoring the situation, reporting frequently the abuse of human rights, and initiating new socioeconomic development programmes are some of the key areas that such associations in Peshawar are performing.

So far media discussions, analysts and researchers both in Pakistan and outside have focused on the origin of both the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, their nexus with the al- Qaeda terrorism, their threats to the national, regional and international security and the counterterrorism strategies. While this has produced an extremely important literature to understand better the Taliban phenomenon yet no serious attempt has been made to understand how the Taliban's violence has exacted a peace-oriented response, if any, from the non-state people in a given context. This thesis draws our attention to such peace oriented struggle, which despite being overshadowed by the Taliban's violence

and affected by it, still seems to remain an important phenomenon in Peshawar that needs recognition.

4.11. Conclusion

The post-Hegelian conception of civil society conceived civil society as a differentiated realm, distinct from the state, family, and market. In the liberal conception of civil society, both the state and civil society can mutually co-exist as corresponding sources of strength. Civil society can potentially play a key role in strengthening democracy, whereas the state provides favourable conditions that may include citizenship, the rule of law, constitutional protection and security and shows sensitivities to the voices emanating from the non-state associational realm. This relational trajectory assumes a more conflictive underpinning within the alternative conception of civil society.

As civil society and the state are perceived in a relational trajectory, whether complementary or conflictive, it was important to explore, analytically, the nature of the Pakistani state in this chapter. To understand and explore how the Pakistani state organized itself in relation to the civil society in Pakistan was one key objective of this chapter.

This chapter has shown that the power oriented transactional relationships between powerful groups in the central state diminished the hopes of a possible democratic start in 1947 that might have encouraged the potential emergence of civil society in Pakistan. Some of the Western liberal concepts were known to the early ML's leadership such as citizenship and, which were invoked but not

with any serious intent to implement them. On the contrary, religion was invoked to compose a homogeneous Muslim nation from different and heterogeneous ethnic groups. Such an invocation was resisted by different linguistic groups, whereas on the other hand the use of religious discourse encouraged religious forces both political and non-political.

The state's attempt to Islamize the entire society while applying a specific Sunni interpretation of Islam, which emerged as a state's policy in Zia regime, seemed to have contributed to the rise of religious groups that grew intolerant towards difference, mainly towards other religious minorities or Islamic sects. The spread of Jihad-culture in Pakistan due to the Afghan war and then Afghan's Taliban backing in 1990s by the Pakistani state seemed to be of crucial importance in creating the Taliban phenomenon in KP in the post 9/11 context.

While Zia's regime experienced the rise of resistance against the authoritarian state as a number of advocacy groups emerged in Pakistan, it is in the context of the violent extremism in Peshawar at present that a number of 'aman' associations emerged from amongst non-state people, which demonstrate peace consciousness.

As this thesis also argues that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar tend to build peace from local cultural and religious perspectives rather than liberal individualism, it is important to show how the empirical data support this argument. However, taking an alternative route by the 'emergent civil society' in Pesahwar is not without uncertainties and tensions. These issues are explored in the next two chapters, which present a detailed analysis of the empirical data, generated during the two field visits.

CHAPTER 5

5. The alternative discourse of Peshawar's 'emergent civil society' and the tension with masculine resistive forces

5.1. Introduction

It was argued in chapter 3 that experts and thinkers have challenged Gellnerian perspective as 'an oriental prejudice' (Keane, 1996: 11), some questions, however, remain unanswered, such as, how alternative value systems can provide the philosophical foundation to the discourse of civil society and how alternative value systems can be normatively perceived around the notion of civil society in the non-Western contexts.

While grappling with these questions, the objectives of this chapter are four: first, this chapter will demonstrate how the empirical data support the fundamental argument of this thesis, i.e. the 'emergent civil society' tends to seek an indigenous persona. The desire of seeking a local cultural identity, however, triggers certain antithetical forces, which seem to impact upon this desire; second, this chapter will demonstrate how the data reflect the conceptual framework of the alternative civil society, which was drawn in chapter 1. The empirical data will demonstrate in this chapter that the 'emergent civil society' emerges as a battleground of clashing opinions and perspectives reflecting Gramscian perspective of civil society; third, this chapter will introduce our respondents to the readers by presenting their quotes, life experiences and some mini-biographies, including their ethnic, gender (age and sex), and professional backgrounds; and last, by introducing the voices of the respondents directly to the readers, this thesis manifest the discourse of civil

society, which the scarce Pakistani literature on civil society seems to omit, thus, making a contribution to the literature on Pakistani civil society.

This chapter is divided into 10 sections. Section 1 presents a brief overview of the Pakistani civil society and identifies certain gaps, which this chapter intends to fill. It was argued in the Introduction that empirical case studies conducted in the non-Western context fail to inform us about the philosophical foundation of civil society. The scarce literature on Pakistani civil society also seems to suffer from a similar theoretical shortcoming.

Section 2 and 3 prepares the general framework for this chapter. Section 2 highlights how respondents conceived civil society in spatial terms, imbued with heterogeneity, rather than restrict the term to a specific associational form, which helped us deploy civil society as a non-state heterogeneous social space, filled with competing perspectives, in this chapter, as explored in chapter 1.

Section 3 explains three reasons for focusing on respondents' ideas of 'peace' and 'violence', which include: what alternative perspectives are informing their respective sense of peace; how their perspective of peace is helping them to draw a line at the empirical level between what is civil and what stands in opposition to civility; and lastly, to highlight civil society as a potential arena, which like the state and other international peace groups, may contribute to peacebuilding. Focusing on 'peace' and 'violence' help us see civil society at the normative level, which helped us deploy civil society in the normative sense, as explained in the first chapter.

Section 4 introduces the readers of this thesis to our data. Based on their respective worldviews, three main clusters, i.e. Traditionalists, Religionists and Reformists, are introduced as this section explores how respondents embrace alternative philosophic foundation to express their respective ideas of civil society and how different perspectives experience frictions and tensions. It is also argued in this section that tensions and uncertainties between different perspectives do not negate the main argument of the respondents that the 'emergent civil society' tends to embrace an indigenous base and character. Deviating from the mainstream liberal perspective of civil society, the 'emergent civil society' seeks alternative philosophical foundations. While their respective ethnic, professional, regional and gender backgrounds are cited with their quotes throughout this chapter, this section also includes some mini biographies of our respondents.

Section 5 deals with the question: If civil society is perceived as embedded in local traditional and religious perspectives by our respondents, then how do tensions between different worldviews appear, at the empirical level, and impact upon the desire of embedding the discourse of civil society? This section introduces the reader to the frictional encounter between feminine voices, which represent human agency for cultural change and conservative traditional forces, which represent masculine structures, and, which ultimately seem to disrupt the desire of embedding civil society in local cultural perspectives.

Sections 6 and 7 highlight the frictional encounter between conservative forces of the Pakhtun culture and feminine voices. Conservatives come from previous two clusters, i.e. traditionalists and religionists and stand in opposition to

feminists' demand of women's rights. Perceiving Pakhtun culture as a sacrosanct structure, conservatives are more communitarian and prioritise Pakhtun culture over any attempt to embed human rights, whereas women put up their agenda of rights and challenge conservatives. These two sections also demonstrate that unequal power relations, which permeate the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar in subtle ways in which the social division between men and women is either challenged or defended.

Section 8 presents how the 'emergent civil society' experiences serious fissures. Conservative masculine forces tend to sustain their privileged social positions, whereas women assert their rights and challenge masculinity as a form of domination. Informed by this power struggle, this section presents how the abstract discourse of indigenising the 'emergent civil society' in alternative traditional and religious perspectives takes an empirical format in which all the discussions of the respondents revolve around the institution of NGOs, advocacy NGOs in particular. While other clusters protest that the entire idea of civil society cannot be NGOised, women justify the inclusion of women's NGOs as important empirical examples of cultural change and challenge the masculine hegemony.

It is argued in section 9 that exploring the ideas of 'peace' and 'violence' enhances the frictional encounter between conservative forces of tradition and women reformists. Words and phrases that describe men's perceptions of 'peace' and 'violence' are vehemently challenged by women respondents. Women expose the partiality of men's conception of peace and violence and argue that the culturally reproduced roles of women are latent forms of

violence, which lie deep within certain norms and social structures of the Pakhtun culture. It is amidst such contestations with conservative forces that women's perceptions of 'peace' and 'violence' attain a gendered outlook and, which ultimately yields the discourse of civil society a feminine character.

The last section 10 introduces another important cluster, i.e. 'culturalists-moderators', who moderate this frictional encounter and accept the possibility of deeply embedded, biased norms and structures. The tendency of looking towards the state, amongst women in particular, gains further intensity amongst the moderators, in which the state is seen as an important entity, which can resolve these tensions by improving the conditions of social justice and security. However, 'culturalists-moderators' also suggest that to resolve the internal tensions, the 'emergent civil society' requires to create sustainable dialogic spaces, reflecting the Habermasian thread of civil society as an arena of dialogues.

5.2. A brief overview of civil society in Pakistan: limitations and gaps

Literature on civil society in Pakistan is scarce as explored in the Introduction and chapter 3, as such studies focus more on the political mediation between democratic forces, labelled broadly as civil society, and the Pakistani state. However, some briefs and short overviews do focus on the associational life in Pakistan. Historicising the associational life in Pakistan, it is argued that the tradition of civil society has a long historical lineage in which Islamic concepts of khairat (charity), zakkat (offering to the poor), and haqooq ul ibad (human rights) have played a key role (ADB, 2009). Perhaps, like other colonies, a new layer of registered, legal and specialist bodies also emerged here in the

subcontinent in the 19th and 20th centuries. A number of educational institutions, welfare associations, trusts and lawyers' associations emerged in the first of half of the 20th century that participated in the independence movement. It is precisely this voluntary sector that Alan Fowler (1996) mentions when he refers to colonialism as an important period that injected a new layer of 'civicness' within those societies where indigenous forms of interactions and associations already existed in response to their social and cultural needs. While association, women in particular, continue to grow after the birth of Pakistan, it was during the 1980s that a large number of relief NGOs[93] and some women's advocacy groups emerged (Hasan & Sabir, 2011).

It was argued in chapter 1 that as our respondents argued that civil society needs to be embedded within the local traditional and religious resources, therefore, this thesis uses, in this chapter in particular, the term 'informal' civil society, in addition to formal, to capture their understanding of civil society. Counting informal networks as part of civil society does not mean only a spatial shift from the registered to the unregistered for our respondents, but also a temporal shift, which connects the concept of civil society to those historical processes, which has been shaping the associational life in Peshawar. However, the word 'informal' as argued by Alan Fowler (1996), does not mean a loose association, but in informal associations and networks, there is a general agreed upon consensus about the rules that condition the behavior of its members. Here the culturally nurtured norms and values are considered sufficient for their interactions rather than requiring written rules as is the case with formal association (p: 15). The following are the three empirical examples of informal

[93] The rise of NGOs, advocacy NGOs in particular, has been explored in chapter 4.

civil society amongst others that were personally visited by the researcher during the fieldwork in Peshawar and, which some respondents, in the coming sections, count as the empirical forms of civil society.

1. A shrine located in the inner Peshawar city, Dabgari, has a committee led by the spiritual heir of the shrine and includes about 12 elderly male members. The spiritual leadership runs in the specific family while others, associated with the shrine, become voluntary members. It looks after the affairs of the shrine and the adjacent mosque, arranges cultural events for men and women separately, resolves disputes amongst members and arranges daily meals (langar[94]) that can be joined by anyone irrespective of his caste, ethnicity or religious background[95].
2. 'Sahu leekonko maraka' (the association of great writers) is a Peshawar based literary association that holds weekly discussions on Pakhtu literature. However, discussion on a particular genre of literature and its context, then spreads, as observed by the researcher, to the prevailing social, political and cultural issues. There are about 500 such literary associations, mostly unregistered in KP that regularly hold 'aman-mushaera' (peace-poetry) (BBC, 2014). Such associations work for the progress of Pakhtu language and culture.
3. 'Peshawar Jirga' is an unregistered network that uses social media, both print and electronic to pressurize the state on governance issues and holds regular conferences at various places aiming at social cohesion.

[94] 'Langar' is a common custom of delivering food on daily basis to the visitors of the shrine.

[95] The researcher personally visited the shrine many times and on one occasion saw two Sikh male visitors.

Jirga, however, is a specific Pkahtun social institution, which potentially performs a number of activities that range from conflict resolution to development activities.

Formal, in this chapter, refers to the registered, non-state, non-profit organizations, with visible structures, which address various developmental and peace related issues. However, the researcher could focus only on the NGOs due to certain limitations, explained in chapter 2. A brief list of such NGOs is given in Appendix G, which were personally visited by the researcher. While informal associations remain hidden and invisible, the data about formal associations is unreliable and incomplete, which creates a great methodological problem. For example, there is no database or source, which can inform us of the exact number of registered CSOs in Peshawar. According to the provincial government portal, the total number of non-governmental associations was 355 in Peshawar District in June 2003 (KP, 2013).

However, the use of formal and informal also attempt to fill minor, but very important gaps in the extremely scarce literature on Pakistani civil society. Besides popular media in Pakistan, that invokes the term in an extremely restrictive sense wherein only NGOs are considered as the mainstream civil society, some experts in Pakistan have also been focusing on the urban based modern NGOs as the mainstream civil society (Malik, 1997) and evaluating their performance (Baig, 2001).

While Adnan S R Baig (2001) does mention 'folk society' without defining or explaining it, Mohammad Qadeer (1997) has been presenting the informal civil society as a dormant space that was always mobilized by the political society

either in favor or against the state. Some refer to the informal civil society submerged in ethnic and religious consciousness (Qadeer, 1997; Zaidi, 2006). These writers have been using the term 'informal civil society' quite frequently without exploring the character of the term.

Also, studies of Pakistani civil society inform us of the total number, activities and various projects of civil society organisations, but it is not entirely known what the internal discourses within various associations are, how these discourses enable them to communicate with one another.

5.3. Civil society as a non-state, heterogeneous social space of competing perspectives

Some experts of civil society (Goody, 2001; Kaviraj, 2001) argue that civil society as a theoretical concept is a relational term and is defined in opposition to the state whether perceived within liberal or alternative perspective. Informed by such arguments the unit of state was chosen, in my interviews, as an oppositional point of reference, while asking questions, such as what is a civil society and where is it located, at the empirical level. Such questions enabled the respondents involved in this research to articulate their respective understandings of the term civil society as a non-state social space. Consequently, several questions were asked about the two key themes, i.e. civil society and the state and their respective nature and interrelation in the context of Pakistan. It was from amidst such exploratory questions that respondents showed their ability to imagine, conceptualize and identify the state, at the empirical level, as a different structural unit, whereas civil society was perceived in spatial form rather than associational form only as words, such as

'arena of social relations', 'social space of public debate and cultural and social arrangements' were used by the respondents. The deployment of civil society as a non-state social space in this thesis was encouraged by respondents' perceptions. In other words, the respondents of this research were not inclined to restrict the notion of civil society to certain specific institutions, such as NGOs and instead wanted to include the entire non-state social space, which, they thought, is imbued with a number of informal networks and associations.

While our respondents recognized civil society as a differentiated structure, underneath this understanding of civil society laid an entire complex hybrid of different worldviews, as explored in the coming sections, which, perhaps, might not have been explored if in-depth interviews were not deployed as a data collection tool.

Using prompts and allowing new questions to emerge during interviews, it was observed that the non-state social space does not have a singular designation and instead is a heterogeneous space, informed by conflicting worldviews. Different respondents were pointing out different value systems as the potential philosophical foundation that may inform their respective but particular sense of a civil society. Local traditional perspectives informed by Pakhtunwali, religious perspective informed by Islam and liberal perspective informed by human rights provide the alternative philosophical foundation, which renders the discourse of civil society in Peshawar heterogeneous in character. The tension between these perspectives appears at two levels: first at the abstract level, when respondents bring in competing alternative perspectives and second, at the empirical level, when respondents try to locate civil society at the

empirical level. While these conflicts are revealing and show the unresolved dilemmas and challenges of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, they occur within the overarching proclivity of the civil society in Peshawar that is demonstrated in the search for an indigenous character. The coming section explores these contested and competing voices in detail.

5.4. The rationale of focusing on 'peace' and 'violence': exploring the normative perception of civil society

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of how Pakhtun in Peshawar can imagine and conceptualize civil society at normative level, respondents' ideas of 'peace' and 'violence' were explored in detail during my interviews with them. 'Peace' and 'violence' were central to this research as it explores whether or not civil society can contribute to peace and minimize violence in Peshawar. Here, in this chapter, 'peace' will be synonymously used with 'civility' and 'nonviolence' and in direct opposition to 'violence' as our respondents posited. Also, as it was mentioned in the first chapter that civil society is deployed, in this thesis, at the normative level, i.e. as a norm of civility and peace, therefore, empirical engagement with the respondents' sense of 'peace' helped us explore this normative sense of civil society.

The exploration of respondents' ideas of 'peace' and 'violence', during my interviews, was informed by three key objectives. First, this thesis tried to investigate what alternative value systems are invoked, which inform respondents' ideas of 'peace' that they were counterpoising with 'violence'.

Second, how their normative perception of civil society as a norm of civility was helping them to draw a clear line of distinction at the empirical level from the 'violent' groups such as the Taliban, which will be explored in chapter 6 in detail.

Lastly, unlike civil society's potential role in democracy and development, civil society's potential role in peacebuilding amidst violence is an under researched area. Research on peacebuilding seems to be focusing on the role of the state or international groups such as the United Nations Organization (UNO) (Paffenholz, 2010). By focusing on civil society and peace, this thesis intends to contribute to the scarce literature on civil society and peacebuilding.

5.5. Making sense of the data

Respondents in and outside Peshawar demonstrated a strong tendency to indigenize the very concept of civil society by rooting the discourse of civil society in local cultural and religious perspectives. Nevertheless, underneath this generic perception of civil society, we explored several symmetrical lines that, at times, run in the opposite direction to each other. To enable the readers of this thesis to grasp the complex portrait of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, we break the data into various themes and clusters.

Respondents' respective worldviews and backgrounds were key factors that helped us divide them into various clusters. Coming from specific ontological positioning and having specific respective social and political backgrounds, respondents of this research were showing a regular trend of using, quite frequently, specific terminologies, phrases, and examples during their

interviews while answering various questions related to civil society, peace, violence and the state. Our data analysis revealed that the deployment of a specific lexicon and the choice of specific, but corresponding, empirical examples by our respondents led to the identification of defined trends of thoughts amongst them about 'civil society' 'peace' and 'violence'.

To deepen our understanding of respondents' ideas of 'peace' and 'violence' several questions, which included a number of prompts also, were asked from each respondent about core themes. It was amidst such discussions with our respondents that the following clusters emerged. Besides introducing different clusters to our readers, some mini-biographies are also included, at appropriate places in the following sections, to make our readers familiar with our respondents.

5.5.1. Traditionalists

This cluster includes writers and poets of Pashtu literature, respondents with deeper consciousness of Pakhtunness or those who give Pakhtun identity a primary importance, admirers of Pakhtun culture and traditions or people who tend to give immense importance to the potential role of local cultural perspectives in day to day interactions such as Pakhtunwali. Labelled as traditionalists in this thesis, they stress more the cultural images, symbols and customs, such as dress, and traditional norms and values. Most of them count informal civil society as the real form of civil society. The following mini-biography will demonstrate the worldview of the traditionalists, though it is not claimed that it is the representative sample of the traditionalists.

Mini biography of 'Interviewee no 48' (Pakhtun Male, Aged 46)

Interviewee no 48 belong to a remote district in the north of KP. He is one of the famous contemporary Pakhtu poets. He has published Pakhtu poetry books and writes regularly in local newspapers and Pakhtu magazines. He regularly attends various local Pakhtu literary association's meeting in which different genres of Pakhtu literature are debated and issues related to society and politics are discussed. He argues that Hujra is an important empirical example of civil society. He shared some of his experiences as given below:

'I have obtained an MA in Pakhtu Literature. When I was a student, I was in the Pakhtun Student Federation, but there was another student group 'Democratic Student Federation' and we used to had great debate. I liked Marxism, but some of my Comrades started attacking religion in a very emotional way. I think they didn't display cultural sensitivity. They should have indigenized the class struggle. I along with my friends established a local organisation for the promotion of culture, arts and protection of heritage. We used to go to Hujras to revive them. The problem with Hujra was that Hujra became associated with individuals and not considered as community centers. It is an institution'.

Mostly men, traditionalists also included women. However, as identified in the methodology chapter, it was extremely difficult to reach an equal number of women in Peshawar due to a number of factors, it may not be suggested that traditionalists were necessarily men only. Nonetheless, as explored in this chapter, women seem to perceive Pakhtun culture differently. Mostly Pakhtun from Peshawar, they also included Pakhtun from other parts of KP such as Swat and other parts of Pakistan such as Baluchistan. However, unlike their ethnic background, their professional backgrounds were much diverse as they included academics, journalists, civil society activists, government employees and political workers. They, however, did not belong to a specific age group rather included both young and aged people.

Traditionalists argue that the discourse of civil society can be rooted in alternative perspectives rather than liberal individualism and, thus, their discourse diverges from the mainstream liberal perspective. They consider that civil society as a norm of peace and civility is embedded within the local culture, people's consciousness, and their practices. Such an understanding, then enable them to argue that civil society as an indigenous phenomenon has enabled the Pakhtun to create collective arrangements in the form of Hujra[96], Jirga, shrines, different neighbourhood associations, writers' groups, and other informal and formal networks.

They argue that the locally emerged, indigenous spaces and institutions have enabled people of various professions, castes, and religions to associate with one another as such spaces are regularly used for various events and functions. They also argue that such spaces and institutions are made easily accessible to and owned by common people. 'The ordinary people', said a 52-years old male Pakhtun writer from Peshawar, 'find these spaces more natural like their own respective families. These collective spaces do not need advertisements or external actors to promote them'. Referring to shrines, a Pakhtun male, aged 46, who was a member of 'Aman Tehreek' (Peace Movement) and was based in Peshawar said:

'Show me a single space where she-males can socialize in Pakistan? Have you ever seen them in schools, colleges, business or politics? Because they live without rights

[96] Hujra, in Pakhtun culture, is a space where men socialize and arrange various events and activities such as marriage ceremonies, funerals, musical events and discussions related to various community issues.

as human beings? It is these shrines where they can come, participate, and socialize'. (Interviewee No. 31, March, 2012)

Referring to Hujra, a 46-years old male Pakhtun poet who was a member of 'Saahu Leekonko Maaraka' (The Assoication of Great Writers), based in Peshawar said:

'Hujra was more than an interactive space for Pakhtun. It was an informal academy for arts and music where the songs were written and artists were born'. (Interviewee No. 53, April, 2012).

With respect to violence and peacebuilding, they specifically quote Jirga as a conflict resolution platform. Referring to violent extremism, a 50-years old male Pakhtun writer and academic said:

'No wonder the Taliban are bombing our Hujras, shrines and Jirgas because they are the spaces of pluralism and togetherness....just see how everyone was welcomed to hujra and how a guest was respected irrespective of his religious or ethnic background'. (Interviewee No. 56, April, 2012).

A 32-years old male Pakhtun who was an active member of a nationalist political party also said:

'One way to build peace is to start reviving these spaces and start celebrating them'. (Interviewee No. 43, March, 2012).

He used a term 'cultural peace', which meant:

'Look! You cannot build peace as you build a wall. All you need to do is to revive your own Pakhtun culture and that would mean regenerating the spirit of pluralism and mutual cooperation'. (Interviewee No. 43, March, 2012).

A 38-years old male Pakhtun poet, who was an employee of a Western donor agency, pointing to a Pashtu literary gathering attended by the researcher in Peshawar during field work, said:

'This is the only place wherein you can find the true civil society. You will not find any dispute over religion here'. (Interviewee No. 47, March, 2012).

While these indigenous spaces are seen as informal forms of civil society by traditionalists, they bring forth an additional supportive argument from the Pakhtun history. They specifically quote KKT as evidence and argue that the Pakhtun nation had previously demonstrated to the world that they cannot only imagine non-violence but can practice it too. With respect to KKT, they specifically argued that it was an indigenous movement that emanated from amongst the common people. Alongside KKT, they quoted the Roshanaya Movement in the 16th[97] century as an important instance of Pakhtun renaissance and cultural change that emanated from within the Pakhtun culture. They also quote a number of verses from Pakhtun literature that show, according to them, the Pakhtun desire of peace and non-violence. In other words, they do not only count various empirical examples of civil society, but also make an attempt to knit them within the overall historical perspective of the region.

[97] Both KKT and Roshanaya Movement are explored in chapter 3.

5.5.2. Religionists

Religionists, unlike traditionalists, deploy different terms and choose different examples and, thus, use a different alternative perspective to express their perception of civil society as a norm of civility. Religion, Islam, and Islamic identity inform their worldview. Religionists, like traditionalists, are Pakhtun and come from different gender and professional backgrounds. Including both young and senior people, some of them either worked in civil society organisations, or were government employees or belonged to religious political parties. What makes them distinct from other clusters is that they all were Muslims by faith. They tend to count mosque, madrasa, and shrine as informal forms of civil society, informed by the Islamic concepts of khairat (charity), zakkat (offering to the poor), and haqooq ul ibad (human rights).

However, this cluster has two sub-clusters, i.e. reformists and revivalists. Reformist-religionists, disagreeing mildly with the Pakhtunized world view of the traditionalists, argue that the religion, Islam, is deeply embedded within Pakhtunwali and, thus, inseparable. A 53-years old male Pakhtun who was a leading a civil society organisation and is based in Peshawar said:

'Islam has reformed Pakhtunwali. They do not contradict each other'. (Interviewee No. 3, February, 2012).

For them Islam's ageless principles of social justice and equality and Islamic human rights, can potentially provide as immanent value system wherefrom civil society may emerge. They, however, are different from revivalists because they think Islam is interpretable and seem to acknowledge the complexity of the

modern day life. They also do not seem to be adhering to the revivalist assertion that only a fundamental Islamic identity must be prioritized over the local culture in order to build civil society. However, unlike traditionalists they give equal importance to religion and do not seem to support the secular, nationalist, and socialist tendencies as exhibited by some culturalists. A 56-years old male Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'Islam offers radical solutions to some of our gravest issues like poverty, inequality and social injustices. Pakhtunwali is our identity, but Islam connects us with the rest of humanity and is a way of life'. (Interviewee No. 9, March, 2011).

A 59-years old female Pakhtun poet and academic, based in Peshawar said:

'The basic principal of Koran is justice, but because of erroneous interpretation of Islam we have failed to understand this simple message... but remember! It is justice for all...not for a specific class or group'. (Interviewee No. 66, April, 2012).

Islam perceived as a tolerant religion by the reformist-religionists, however, receives an orthodox underpinning with the revivalists. The revivalists do not seem to be endorsing the culturalists' nationalist inclinations also and, instead, advocate Islamic political ideals. They emphasise that Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam and it has to be ideologically an Islamic country. For them Islam is an essentially political system and the Pakistani state needs to implement that system in its original form. They also perceive the nationalist-socialists inclinations of some of the culturalists incompatible with the Islamic ideals of a single Ummah. The clash between the revivalists on the one side and

other clusters on the other side, which presents the second part of our argument, is examined in the next chapter in detail.

5.5.3. Reformists

Like traditionalists and religionists, reformists are also mainly Pakhtun and have age, gender, and professional variations. However, some the reformists were non-Pakhtun and Non-Muslims as well. The reformists bring in the discourse of citizenship and consider human rights as an important value system. The following mini-biography, shows how some of the reformists have embraced the agenda of human rights.

A mini-biography of 'Interviewee no 68' (A Pakhtun female, Aged 52)

Interviewee no 68 belongs to a remote rural area in KP and was educated in extremely hard conditions. After the death of her husband, she was not allowed to seek a job. She decided to challenge that decision. She was already aware of the poor conditions of women in her neighbourhood. Dedicated to the cause of women's rights, she established her own organisation in Peshawar, which operates for the last 18 years in different parts of KP. During my interview with her, she shared the following incident.

'Once we had a dinner in local malik[98] house and I saw a young girl with her child, sitting on the stairs and crying silently. She was holding a baby who had fever. So I asked her why she is crying and she said that she is not allowed to take her child to a doctor because of guests and she can't go alone...she said the decision was with her mother-in-law who will give her some money and ask an adult male member to accompany her once all things are over and guess what, she was the daughter-

[98] 'malik' is a local title that shows the influential social and economic status of a person in the Pakhtun society.

in-law of that malik...see?...she couldn't go to the hospital not because they were poor but it is this system that withheld her' (May, 2012)

An emphasis on individual human rights, perceived as Western by some respondents with cultural and religious background, then place reformists in opposition to both traditionalists and religionists. While remaining in mild tensions with traditionalists and reformist-religionists, their main encounter occurs with revivalist-religionists as explored in the next chapter. In other words, in addition to the acceptance of Pakhtun culture and Islam as an important alternative philosophical system, they introduce a strand of individual rights. Civil society, among the reformists, receives a new shift.

An emphasis on individual rights, by the reformists, seems to resonate with the Western ideal of human rights. However, this does not mean embracing the entire liberal project of the West but some of its aspects are recognized as important, in this case human rights, because they resonate with conditions of certain social groups, as they argue. They also argue that the notion of human rights is not entirely unfamiliar to Islam or Pakhtunwali, but the discourse of human rights, political and social, has to be constituted within the local culture.

These clusters in conjunction with other sub-clusters, as discussed below, inform us of the anxieties amidst different worldviews that occur within the overarching desire of embedding the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar in alternative perspectives. Unlike civil society in the West, liberal model in particular, that challenged both religion and tradition and rejected pre-defined roles and obligations, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar demonstrates the possibility of retaining them as important sources of civility and tolerance. In

other words, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar tends to retain a cultural identity and collective spirit and resists the individualized mindset. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar aligns itself with the alternative perspective, which, unlike the liberal mainstream model, does not perceive religion, tradition, ascriptive identities or any predefined value system as antithetical to the potential emergence of civil society.

However, an extremely important sub-cluster, that of women-reformists, soon emerges where tensions amidst different worldviews becomes more frictional as explored in the next section.

5.6. The nemesis of frictional encounter

However, respondents' tendency towards immanent value-systems and retaining them as the potential philosophical foundation of the 'emergent civil society' may not guarantee a problem-free trajectory towards the construction of civil society. As the data analysis proceeded, we observed that there are deeper issues involved that are closely linked with the very desire of embedding the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar in immanent value systems. If civil society was seen embedded in local cultural and religious perspectives by our respondents, then how do these tensions between different worldviews impact upon the desire of embedding the discourse of civil society?

As we asked questions about empirical examples of civil society from our respondents and unpacked their ideas of 'peace' and 'violence', our data analysis revealed that the friction between feminine voices and conservative forces of tradition problematize the very desire of embedding the 'emergent civil society'.

Feminine voices include both women and men. While we have labelled women respondents as 'women-reformists' and men respondents as 'moderators' in this chapter, they collectively represent a strong orientation towards a cultural change. The feminist voices, representing cultural change and human agency, challenge culturally reproduced roles and responsibilities of women. Conservative forces of tradition protect masculine structures and tend to sustain their hegemony at cultural level.

Women's voices, however, help us understand this frictional encounter better. Women's voices not only spell out this encounter better by drawing on the experiences and conditions of women in the Pakhtun society, but are also helpful in drawing our attention to the latent forms of violence, which is pertinent to our main research question. It is here that the entire idea of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar attains a feminine outlook.

While advocating cultural change, women's perspective of cultural shift, however, does not seem to be rejecting the overarching tendency of finding an indigenous persona for the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, as posited by other respondents. Women, in Peshawar, seem to be concerned about certain aspects of tradition and not the entire culture as one senior female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'I don't want to change my identity or my culture. I am leading this voluntary organization today because my identity as a Pakhtun woman and as a Muslim has encouraged me to do so. I know that my religion and my culture has taught me principles that I am proud of today...I am not against Jirga as most of male

colleagues say...but we have problems. As a Pakhtun and Muslim woman, all I want is to secure a better place for women' (Interviewee No. 65, April, 2012).

The following section explores this frictional encounter and presents two new clusters to provide an empirical evidence of the encounter between feminine voices and the conservative forces of tradition.

5.7. Conservatives: preserving the Pakhtun tradition

Conservatives come from previous two clusters, i.e. traditionalists and religionists and they consider local traditional and religious perspectives as important sources of civility and peace that inform sociability amongst the Pakhtun. They refer to and count a number of informal associations as important examples of local structures such as Hujra, Jirga and neighbourhood associations that promote peace and civility within society. Besides, such examples of indigenous mechanisms that maintain internal social order and social cohesion, they count norms and values both from Pakhtunwali and Islam. For instance 'melmasthiya' (hospitality), 'qadr' (respect), 'ithbar' (trust), 'Pakhtu' (decency), and 'wrorwali' (brotherhood) are quoted from Pakhtunwali, whereas 'sulh'(resolution), 'muslamani' (truthfulness), 'insaf' (justice), and 'masawath' (equality) are quoted from Islam by them. They also quote KKT as an empirical example of non-violence amongst the Pakhtun. Conservatives perceive individualism and the discourse of women's rights as a threat to their cultural identity and aim to retain a more communitarian and collectivist approach of sociability. It is this structural udnerstandign of the Pakhtun culture of the conservatives that alert them to the women's rights as a Western agenda as advocated by women's association in Peshawar.

5.8. Women-Reformists: the rejection of masculine hegemony

Rejecting the structural understanding of the conservatives, women question and challenge conservatives' description of Pakhtun culture. Dismissing it as too masculine and male dominated, one Pakhtun woman poet, aged 54, from Peshawar said:

> *'Women do not have any interactive space beyond their respective families. Outside families, it is a man's world where only men can tell what is right and what is wrong'.* (Interviewee No. 66, April, 2012).

Women express and caution the conservatives that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar if indigenized in such a 'man's world' will remain biased. They, however, do not wish to dismantle the entire approach to indigenize civil society and instead attempt to modify it by injecting their voices. In other words, they seek to retain their cultural identity, but resist the tendency amongst men to preserve tradition because the latter marginalize them and take their voices away.

For women the 'emergent civil society' must unveil, challenge, and reject the masculine structures in the Pakhtun society, which have produced certain cultural practices and perceptions about females and, which have sustained a secondary status of women, both within families and in the social space. It is the feminist emphasis on the women's conditions in families, which blur the boundaries between civil society and family, as pointed out in the first chapter.

It was observed that the voices of women-reformists emanate from registered, formal associations that most respondents have been referring to as 'NGOs'.

This runs in parallel with the conservatives' argument that civil society needs to be indigenized within the informal civil society. Respondents' perception of formal and informal civil society runs in parallel with their desire to embed and indigenize the 'emergent civil society' within immanent value systems.

5.9. Moving from abstract discourse to concrete examples of civil society: the rise of a frictional encounter

It is argued in the above section that this thesis has operationalised the notion of civil society using the idioms of formal and informal, which is based on the views of the respondents. Formal and informal civil society, at an empirical level, shows where respondents are trying to locate and embed the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. However, the prime objective, here, is not only to show how pressure is built between the desire for cultural change as represented by feminine agency and the conservative forces of masculine structures, but also to show how the abstract discourse of indigenizing civil society takes an empirical format.

Besides referring to other informal associations, such as Jirga and Hujra, respondents' discussions mainly revolved around the institution of NGO, advocacy NGOs in particular, when they were finding empirical examples of civil society in Peshawar. New clusters, however, emerged when NGOs are brought into discussion. For instance, respondents with strong a political background, i.e. 'politicalists' argue that the central state is a strong entity and political parties are in a much better position to negotiate with the state. Political parties, therefore, can mobilize people effectively. They also argue that political parties have emerged from within the cultural habitat and NGOs neither are in fact in a

position to challenge the government, or mobilize people. Nor have they emerged from within the culture, so therefore to count NGOs as a mainstream civil society may not be justified.

Traditionalists argue that NGOs, being a Western phenomenon, represent neither the local issues nor the local cultural consciousness. 'Hujra is a our main civil society organisation in which we gather regularly to promote art and culture and enhance our community cohesion' remarked one male Pakhtun poet from Swat Valley.

Both traditionalists and politicalists share their reservations about NGOs and argue that NGOs are fiscally dependent on foreign donors and rely, for the legal support, on the state. Both traditionalists and politicalists argue that NGOs are sources of employment for the unemployed or educated urban class only. One senior male Pakhtun political and peace activist based in Peshawar used a term 'organic civil society' in contrast to NGOs, which he explained as:

'These NGOs have not organically originated from the local cultural soil. They are mechanically planted here'. (Interviewee No. 44, March, 2012).

Carrying Western attributes, mainly capitalist and neo-liberalist, NGOs perceive the local culture as 'tribalistic and primordial' in character as one male Punjabi[99] speaking male said:

'Unaware of their history and culture, the NGOs' professionals are working against their own culture'. (Interviewee No. 71, May, 2012).

[99] Punjabi is another linguistic group in Pkaistan, mainly residing in Punjab province.

Looking for financial opportunities, with serious charges of corruption against them and their dependence on donors, their argument questions the independence and strength of NGOs. A male Pakhtun with political background and running an NGO in Peshawar said:

'Just imagine if all the donors disappear one day, the entire NGOs-market will crash'. (Interviewee No. 29, March, 2012).

Thus the criticism of NGOs helps various clusters to articulate their respective argument. Politicalists, for instance, assume political parties to be the mainstream civil society, whereas culturalists look for internally located cultural institutions, such as Hujra and Jirga as the prime examples of civil society. They perceive NGOs as top-down associations, brought from an external intellectual domain, with an agenda that is perceived antithetical to the local culture. The notion of 'organic civil society', including or excluding political parties, emerge as an important thematic thread from the data and is contrasted to NGOs, perceived as modern associations that work against the 'organic civil society'. Thus words like NGO-bazaar, NGO-industry, NGO-mafia, NGOs as local contractors, and NGO-Textiles appear frequently in their discourses.

Perhaps it is not the formal features per se that are opposed as most of the informal associations in Peshawar are voluntary in character too. It is the perception that these NGOs promote a foreign agenda of change, which is antithetical to the local cultural values. However, the acronym NGO enjoys neither a good reputation amongst donors (Rooy & Robinson, 1998 p: 35) nor within other non-Western contexts (Maina, 1998; Borchgrevink and Harpviken,

2010) and the case of Peshawar NGOs does not seem to be an exceptional phenomenon.

The charges of corruption both in NGOs and the donor community and NGOs' extreme reliance on Western donors are not completely denied by the respondents working within formal associations in Peshawar. Some respondents working in various NGOs in Peshawar shared their experiences of personally witnessing instances of corruption both within NGOs and donors. A senior male Pakhtun, working in an NGO, based in Peshawar said:

'I do not have any project these days, but we do not want to get one by bribing someone in the donor agency as I personally know who get their percentage'.

(Interviewee No. 7, March, 2011).

However, women seem to be presenting a different perspective of NGOs, advocacy NGOs in particular, and seem to be moderating this critique. Women respondents from Peshawar emphasise that the role of modern associations which usually are dubbed as NGOs cannot be dismissed. Women, nevertheless, do not seem to disagree with the charges of corruption against NGOs as one female Pakhtun civil society activist, aged 46, leading a woman's association in Peshawar said:

'Yes the charges of corruption are true and there is a lot of mismanagement too'.

(Interviewee No. 59, April, 2012).

They, nonetheless, argue that the potential role of these modern associations in social and political movements in the history of Pakistan cannot be denied. Women count a number of examples and identify the positive role of NGOs. For

instance, they refer to the role of women associations during the Zia regime, as explored in chapter 4, which resisted and protested against the discriminatory laws, NGOs' participation in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in the early 1980s to restore constitution, NGOs supportive role in the recent Lawyers' Movement (2007-09) at the national level that aimed at independent judiciary in Pakistan and more importantly women refer to the participation of NGOs in the Peace Movement (PM) in Peshawar that emerged in 2009 against the Taliban's violence.

While moderating NGO-critique, women respondents in Peshawar seem to be adding a feminine dimension to the discourse of civil society in Peshawar, which manifests women's struggle of cultural change, which is opposed by other clusters.

Women in the Pakhtun society are perceived as the 'service-deliverers' as one Pakhtun woman, aged 39, employed in a women's organisation from Peshawar put it in her discussion about NGOs. Leading a woman's organization, she said:

'We, as women, are supposed to clean, cook and look after our children in homes. As "service deliverers", our roles are accepted if we are working in any NGO that is given to service delivery. But the moment we step outside our prescribed role as "service deliverers" and start demanding our rights, we are declared agents of Western ideals'. (Interviewee No. 72, May, 2012).

If 'Gender refers to the social division between men and women' (Walby, 2012, p: 18), then women in Peshawar challenge such social divisions.

However, women-reformists also challenge the critiques of formal associations dismissed under the rubric of NGOs when they count empirical examples of formal civil society organizations in Peshawar that have emerged primarily from organic informal civil society. Association of Knowledge and Behaviour Transformation (AKBT) and Khwendo Kor (KK) are two such women associations in Peshawar that were transformed over a long period of time into formal associations. Such associations blur the boundary between a modern association, usually discredited in the name of NGO, and a local organic group. A Pakhtun woman, aged 41, leading a women's organization, from Peshawar said:

'I don't call my association an NGO because we emerged from a rural local group. We work within the cultural parameters because our language and our dresses are local'. (Interviewee No. 70, May, 2012).

They also argue that these modern associations are led by local people and focus on local issues. A 45 years old female civil society activist from Peshawar responded:

'We go to the rural areas and train teachers. What is anti-cultural or Western in it? Is women-education not our priority'? (Interviewee No. 67, May, 2012).

Thus, discussions around NGOs seem to build our argument when women reformists challenge NGOs-critique as presented by men. Again, while women perceive NGOs as important spaces of interactions beyond family, some men also seem to challenge this feminist perspective. Thus the communicative interaction experience serious fissure as it is informed by unequal power

relations. For instance, a senior male Pakhtun civil society activist, leading his own voluntary association said:

'It is wrong to say that Pakhtun women do not have a space to interact. They do interact in schools and colleges and within families'. (Interviewee No. 74, May, 2012).

Women-reformists responding to such thinking, argue that criticism against women's associations given to women's-rights is mainly constructed in order to keep them under men's yolk. According to such feminine voices in Peshawar women can also participate in the process of cultural change by inserting their voices.

Women consider formal civil society organisations, NGOs in particular, as great opportunities to connect, socialize and assert their rights. They think that women have no spaces to advocate their rights, whereas these formal associations have provided them with new opportunities to connect and register their voices. Such an understanding remind us of the feminist perspective on civil society as examined in the first chapter that women find civil society as an important and useful realm beyond family to project their voices and assert for their rights in patriarchal set up (Phillips, 2002).

While Pakhtun men identify family as an important space of women's interaction, a 54-years old female Pakhtun women's rights activist, based in Peshawar, respond in the following manner:

'Sometimes the outlook of an NGO is taken for granted, like women's open hair or smoking by some women but people don't pay attention to the internal discourse

within women's associations. If they blame NGOs as Western agents then these men should discuss our issues and local realities and if they ignore them then how can they blame our associations? We want help from men and we wish the religious clerics to see our problems, recognize them and come up with solutions rather than a blame game'. (Interviewee No. 68, May, 2012).

As it was argued above that the notion of civil society attains a communitarian tone with conservatives, with women reformists, the notion receives a streak of women's rights and thus a feminine perspective of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar emerges very clearly. Thus, by challenging the very criticism leveled against women-NGOs, they challenge the very tendency of embedding civil society within local cultural and religious perspectives as women reformists in Peshawar find some perspectives discriminatory and thus advocate cultural change.

5.10. Frictional encounter between masculinity and cultural change: the gendered outlook of 'peace' and 'violence'

The debate about NGOs provides the initial instance of the frictional encounter between conservative forces of masculine structures and the agency of women reformists in Peshawar. The encounter between them, however, assumes more frictional form when several questions were asked about 'violence' and 'peace' (civility) from all respondents involved in our research. This section will show how men's perceptions about 'peace', 'violence', implicitly, sustain the gendered division between men and women, which is challenged by women.

Words and phrases such as 'peace', 'non-violence', 'tolerance', 'peaceful interactions', 'respecting differences', 'democratic behaviour', 'collectivism', 'self-help', and 'a deep sense of security' were frequently used by male respondents while describing civility. Such words and phrases were contrasted with the violent extremism, wherein the state and international players have played a key role, as they argue. They believe that if the state is willing to assist the organic civil society, then such violence can be eliminated. For them the sources of violence are external whereas that of civility is internal. In other words, violence was brought from external sources and is not a Pakhtun phenomenon.

By external they mean that the roots of religious violence in KP are unfounded as it was imported and imposed on the Pakhtun community. Perhaps it may be useful to provide some quotes from our male-respondents to see how they conceptualize peace and violence.

Peace is generally understood as the opposite of violence by our male respondents in Peshawar as demonstrated by the following quotes.

'Peace is the fulfillment of our basic needs and our protection'. (A male Pakhtun civil society activist, based in Peshawar, March, 2012)

'Peace is the happiness of all and non-interference in someone's personal affairs, or when we do not feel the threat of violence from others. But if someone is disrupting the community's peace, then it is the duty of the community to correct him because he is a threat to the entire community and we Pakhtun have been

doing this all our history. (A senior male Pakhtun writer and civil society activist, based in Peshawar, February, 2012)

'Peace means I am mentally and physically at peace and let others be at peace'. (A male Pakhtun academic, based in Peshawar, February, 2012)

'It is the ability to resolve difference through discourse and in non-violent way'. (A male political activist Pakhtun, based in Peshawar, February, 2011)

'After food it is the most important thing. If peace is there, then life is great. I mean security of all and rights. Previously we had hujra which acted like community centres etc and all were protected but now I cannot go to the mosque even because I am scared. Things were good in the past'. (A senior male Pakhtun academic and civil society activist, based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

'Peace is all about equality and social justice'. (A Pakhtun male lawyer from Peshawar, March, 2012)

These few but brief excerpts from the interviews of our male respondents demonstrate the capacity of Pakhtun to imagine and describe peace according to their own respective worldviews and understandings. These excerpts show that our male respondents are aware of the positive and negative peace as propounded by Johan Galtung (1975) and our male respondents can articulate their understandings of peace. An important, but a very relevant aspect of such expressions about 'peace' is that men respondents also express their respective understandings of 'peace' as akin to social justice, equality and human rights. Again, some of our respondents showed an ability to place such an

understanding of 'peace' within the current context in Peshawar while referring to the Taliban's violence.

In the following section we will present how our male respondents are imagining and describing violence. These excerpts will show multiple but extremely illuminating understanding of violence as we noticed in the case of peace. Words such as 'discrimination', 'deprivation of rights', 'physical or mental harm', 'social injustices', and 'suppression' appear very frequently used during interviews by male respondents irrespective of their respective background.

'Violence is an intentional act to harm someone, whether physically or mentally'. (A male Pakhtun civil society activist from Peshawar, April, 2012)

'Violence is the marginalization and exploitation of the poor by the rich'. (A male Pakhtun with socialist background from Peshawar, April, 2012)

'Violence is when you take something from someone against his will' (A male Pakhtun peace activist from Peshawar, March, 2011)

'For example, if we are five people in this room and I am trying to dominate the discussion, then it is also a form of violence too because I am taking your voice away'. (A male Pakhtun poet from Peshawar, March, 2012)

'I mean it is only not taking someone's life away, but any mental torture that remains invisible unlike murder that is visible'. (A senior male Pakhtun civil society activist from Peshawar, March, 2012)

So far these voices seem illuminating and it seems that civil society has brighter prospects in Peshawar. Perhaps it might have been an important conclusion of

our thesis if we had not explored women's voices on similar issues. Underpinned by a masculine mindset and utopian in character, 'peace' and 'violence' seem to be a 'man's job'. Men's perception of 'peace', for instance, expressed as akin to social justice and equal rights do not seem to lay an emphasis on women's rights as a key area, which was identified by women respondents. Women reformists challenge such perceptions of 'violence' and 'peace' as offered by men.

The following section shows some quotes that contradict men's perceptions of 'peace' and 'violence'.

'If we consider women's situation in our Pakhtun society, then there was no peace here'. (A female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

'Peace is not the absence of gunshots or a dead silence that we see in villages. Our men so proudly refer to the so-called social order in villages, but miserably fail to see what happens to women there. It is about the security of women in all situations'. (A female Pakhtun poet based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'Whether it is peace or violence, we women always suffer first. During violence, we are double exposed to violence as we have the Taliban now on the one side and a culture that silences us on the other side... when it is peace then men stand first its as recipients. We as women have to be content with the leftovers only'. (A female Pakhtun Lawyer based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'How can there be peace if almost 50% women do not have rights and access to education. (A female Pakhtun academic based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

'Peace means access to education, open mobility of female, equal opportunity for them in all affairs of public life'. (A young female Pakhtun civil society activist, writer and academic based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

As Sylvia Walby's (1990) has argued that discouraging women from seeking to enhance their status is also a form of violence, women in Peshawar stretch the definitional spectrum of violence as offered by men, and emphasise more the internally situated layers of violence by bringing out their respective experiences as members of the Pakhtun society. For them latent violence, lying deep within certain norms and social structures of the Pakhtun culture, mainly Pakhtun male honour and badal (revenge) deeply impact their interactions. Such norms and structures inhibit them from imagining and contributing to the creation of a new framework of interactions based on tolerance and respect for all members of society, irrespective of their social status and gender backgrounds. Such feminine voices bring a gendered dimension to the very the conceptions of peace and violence, which exposes the partiality of men's conceptions of peace and violence. To share some of women's perceptions of violence may be pertinent here:

'Any conception of violence has to include violence against women'. (A female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'Violence against women is a source of pride and honour for our men here'. (A female Pakhtun academic based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'For me violence is resistance to changes in the conditions of women'. (A female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

'Honour killing is never accepted as a crime or an important form of violence'. (A female Pakhtun writer, academic based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

'It is a kind of violence if we (women) are stereotyped as week, feeble and less wise than men'. (A female Pakhtun poet, academic based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'Domestic violence against women is never accepted as violence and instead is dismissed as a private affair. Women cannot dare to report it to the police. It is beyond any possibility that Jirga would intervene to stop such violence against women in the private sphere'. (A female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

While these quotes are highly illuminating, some women shared their experiences also, which perhaps may be fruitful to be brought out in detail for the readers of this thesis.

'We were eight sisters and one brother and all of them were born at home rather than at hospital. I would always see that my mother despite so many children would look after 10 or 20 guests all the time and I would see that she used to make trays and fill them with tea and other things. Sometimes there used to be processions in our hujra or some gathering and I used to see my mum that she would cook tea in a large pot but still she got beaten by my father. I know that women like my mother struggled a lot and suffered a lot but they stay silent but no one gives them space or the right to speak and they live, suffer and die. I know it is happening daily to a majority of women in my society. I personally know that for most women, here, life is a painful experience but what makes me uncomfortable

is that they have accepted this as natural and destined'. (A 35 years old Pakhtun female, working in a women's organisation, based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

'When I go out, I face so many troubles. I am stared at as if I am a commodity for men. I feel harassed. Then, even here, in this organization, I face similar problems as outside in the street. People will pass remarks about us working in NGOs...Here in KP all issues revolve around women. People say what kind of Pakhtun is he? Look he is sending his daughter or sister to an NGO? (A 26-years old Pakhtun female employee in a civil society organization in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'I arranged a workshop on women, but it was very hard to get permission first and even I was told by my manager what should I say during the workshop and what issues to discuss. When I started talking on women's rights I started receiving small chits by men saying that if Allah (God) has not made us equal then how you can make them equal to men'. (A 27-years old Pakhtun female civil society activist based in Peshawar, May, 2012)

These excerpts from women's personal accounts, then may be seen in contrast to some of the quotes from men respondents that stereotype women as fickle and feeble. It is these socially and culturally reproduced gendered divisions, which women challenge.

'A true Pakhtun will never be ready to change his values. He would not like to see his daughter somewhere that will bring him shame and dishonour'. (A senior male Pakhtun poet and academic based in Peshawar, March, 2012)

'Women are less wise than men because she is very emotional by nature and gets deceived by many... she needs our protection'. (A 26-years old male Pakhtun academic based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

'Women are a liability for men, whether it is war or peace'. (A 54-years old male Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

This develops the dilemma of whether or not the 'emergent civil society' has to be indigenized within the local cultural and religious perspectives as proposed by different clusters that may take into account the feminist perspective informed by a strong strain of women's rights. For women reformists the organic civil society may be inspired by the local traditional consciousness, which they perceive as biased against women and may, further, marginalize them. They argue that the Pakhtun society with its patriarchal mindset and highly masculinised concept of male honour will further restrict their mobility and may withhold their basic human rights wherein the cultural contents i.e. Pakhtunwali and Islam, may be used to subdue and dominate them. Women will remain 'captives of Pakhtun male honour', as one young female social activist asserted. It is precisely these issues that have been actively taken up by women's associations based in Peshawar and for which they have to face fierce opposition, wherein both NGOs and women's-rights are perceived as a foreign agenda. It is then understandable when women in Peshawar show their concerns that women's issues do not seem to be a priority for men here as a senior female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'I think it is our failure that we could not mobilize our men for the women's cause'. (Interviewee No. 67, May, 2012).

It is such women's associations based in Peshawar who consider that modern association, mainly in the form of an NGO, have provided them not only with financial support, but also a platform to highlight women's issues and problems both to the state and to the community. Women's associations not only inform the state to introduce women friendly legislations, but also inform women about their constitutionally protected rights. However, these women's associations have also focused on the local culture and social structures that has sustained bias against women. A female Pakhtun women's rights activist based in Peshawar said:

'What our elders do inside our homes are adopted and internalized by our young and thus such tendencies are reproduced. So we are trying to create women friendly spaces both within and outside the family'. (Interviewee No. 63, May, 2012).

Thus the argument of the conservatives, culturalists and religionists, wherein an emphasis on the organic civil society emerges clearly seems to be challenged by the women reformists. The latter group of cluster clearly articulates what civility is for them. For women reformists change in social collective behaviour, mainly towards women, is an important version of civility. A 36-years old female Pakhtun women's rights activist based in Peshawar said:

'Civil society can only be civil if it promotes it'. (Interviewee No. 62, May, 2012).

The discourse of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, which shows the tendency to embrace an alternative philosophical value system and retain a local cultural identity also triggers certain antithetical forces. To resolve these

tensions and dilemmas, respondents, women-reformists in particular, look towards the state, to improve the rule of law and ensure social justice. A senior female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'I believe that only women can represent women's concerns. That's why we want women in politics, so that they can bring in women-friendly bills and work for the betterment of women's conditions'. (Interviewee No. 66, May, 2012).

A strong rule of law is seen as an important condition that can help them secure the a better social status and ensure their safety.

5.11. Moderating the frictional encounter and finding a way out

However, another cluster, that of culturalists-moderators emerges from the data that appears to be moderating this frictional encounter and accept the possibility of deeply embedded biased norms and structures that potentially encourage violence. Placing violence in direct opposition to peace or civility, they attempt to see violence in a broader social context. For instance:

'Violence is the suppression of one's rights'. (A young male Pakhtun civil society activist from Peshawar, March, 2012)

'Peace is the freedom of expression'. (A Pakhtun male writer and academic from Swat Valley, May, 2012)

'Peace is the end of poverty'. (A male Pakhtun civil society activist, based in Peshawar, April, 2012)

They do not necessarily see local cultural and religious perspectives responsible for violence against women and broaden up the analytical spectrum of violence

by including the conditions of extreme poverty, unemployment amongst youth, poor governance and deteriorating situation of law and order. An important characteristic of moderators is that they do not think that the struggle against the masculinised mind set is not insurmountable. However, like women-reformists they also look towards the state to create conditions of social justice and security for all that may discourage violence against women such as honour killing.

Culturalists-moderators also suggest that the internal tensions within the 'emergent civil society' cannot be resolved by improving the rule of law alone. Instead, they identify that the 'emergent civil society' needs to be proactive to create conditions of open dialogue. In other words, they suggest new spaces of communicative interactions.

It is from amongst these culturalists-moderators that we encounter the suggestion that the idea of civil society needs to be 'communitized' in order to generate opportunities to engage the community at large scale and may create sustained and open opportunities for communicative interaction and debate. Without eliminating the distance between formal and informal civil society in Peshawar, NGOs and the women's agenda will be perceived as a foreign injected scheme.

5.12. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the deployment of civil society as a spatial, normative tool, as mentioned in chapter 1, was based on the respondents' views about civil society. However, civil society as a social space and as a normative

tool does not mean that civil society has a homogeneous discourse rather is imbued with conflicting and competing perspectives.

By introducing respondents to the readers, this chapter has shown that the empirical data strongly suggest that the discourse of civil society in Peshawar is aligned towards the alternative perspective, despite tensions and uncertainties, which fluctuate within it. Deviating from the mainstream liberal model of civil society, the discourse of civil society tends to retain its local cultural persona and character. The tendency of retaining local cultural persona, however, triggers certain antithetical forces, which seem to impact upon this tendency. The antithetical forces are mobilised at two levels: first, when respondents refer and count the empirical examples of civil society in Peshawar; and second when respondents' ideas of peace and violence are explored. These two accounts make the tension between conservative forces of masculinity and feminine voices visible, which unveils the unequal but invisible power relations between different segments of the Pakhtun society.

While feminine voices also reinforce the argument of the thesis that the 'emergent civil society' needs to have its own cultural identity, they also alert us of the potential risks to embed civil society in local culture, which according to them, is imbued with masculine mind set and unequal power relations between men and women.

Informing us of the frictional encounter between cultural change and the forces of masculinity, the discourse of civil society exhibits not only the changing geometry of human relations and resistance to such change, but also demonstrate that the struggle for cultural change is taking place outside the

state, within the non-state social space, which reflects Gramscian perspective of civil society also. The chapter concludes that to resolve these tensions respondents look towards the state and pressurise it to improve social justice and the rule of law. However, to resolve internal tensions, the importance of dialogue between actors and associations within the 'emergent civil society' is also emphasised.

CHAPTER 6

6. The indigenization of civil society and its frictional encounter with extremist forces and the state

6.1. Introduction

The 'emergent civil society's' in Peshawar that undergoes through a frictional encounter between an aspiration for cultural change and the hegemonic masculinity seems to experience a new friction. The 'emergent civil society's' contribution to build peace amidst violence comes into friction with violent extremism and religious orthodox forces, as this chapter demonstrates.

While previous chapter showed how the frictional encounter has occurred within the cultural context between feminists and masculine conservative forces reflecting important theoretical thread of the 'alternative' civil society, this chapter will demonstrate how the frictional encounter is occurring within the political and religious contexts between the desire of peace and conservative religious forces.

The objectives of this chapter are three: first, to demonstrate that the discourse of civil society in Peshawar reflects another theoretical thread of the 'alternative' civil society by exhibiting criticality as its dominant feature in which the Pakistani state is criticised for multiple reasons, such as underming peace and encouraging violence. However, the entire critique of the state is informed by a strong desire of embracing peace, which has been undermined by the state for its own political and strategic reasons; second, the discourse of peace acquires a reflexive dimension when it assumes an inward trajectory and

grapples with the religious conservative forces, inhabiting the non-state social space and, which creates another frictional encounter; third, to explore why the tendency of looking towards the state is stronger than the much needed tendency of looking inwards, as suggested by some respondents.

This chapter is divided into seven sections. Section 1 explores that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar demonstrates criticality as its prime feature by generating a strong critique of the Pakistani state. This section shows that the critique of the state is holistic as it criticality evaluates the historical, political and social causes, which led to the creation of a strong, authoritarian and exclusionary state and, which ultimately undermined local indigenous political forces, which were oriented more towards democratic pluralism. Respondents' critique, however, is informed by a peace consciousness which they think was inherent in the indigenous political forces.

While criticality is presented in a political context in the first section, it assumes a religious dimension in the section 2 when respondents identify the instrumental use of the religion by the state to neutralise political opposition and seek new grounds of legitimacy. While the state's efforts to undermine the indigenous political forces is mainly pointed out by respondents with strong Pakhtun nationalist backgrounds, the state's use of religion for instrumental purposes is identified by traditionalists and reformists in particular as section 2 shows their quotes. Both these sections show that by denying the right of political diversity to its own people, the Pakistani state deployed the idioms of the religious Right to silence the opposition. This section, however, also points out that the instrumental use of Islam by the state soon acquired an ideological

stance under the Zia regime in the 1980s, which received further impetus as the Afghan war started.

Section 3 deals in detail with the voices of the respondents and shows how the communication interaction presents a shared sense of criticality, which is, however, underpinned by a strong strand of reflexivity as critical voices, inspired by a commitment to peace, debate the roots, causes and consequences of violent extremism. The reflexive dimension of peace consciousness is evident when voices of peace in Peshawar try to embed peace consciousness within local cultural history by quoting instances and norms of peace from the Pakhtun and Islamic history. Peace consciousness not only rejects the violent extremism of the Taliban in KP, but also stands up against religious fundamentalism or what our respondents called 'mullaeeath[100]' or 'Talibanization'. Some sections within the non-state social space in Peshawar are standing up against this Talibanizing tendency, which is perceived by them as imported.

Section 4 offers a detailed account of the social background of the 'religious-revivalists', which include references to their ethnic, gender and associational backgrounds. This section also includes one mini-biography. Highlighting the frictional encounter that occurs between 'religious-revivalists' and all other clusters, this section shows that a strict Sunni version of Sharia is the only acceptable perspective for them as they reject other respondents' assertion of the importance of local cultural identity.

[100] 'Mullaeeath' is deduced from 'Mullah', which means a male religious cleric. 'Mullaeeath' then refers to his orthodox and conservative world view. As the world view of a 'Mullah' is difficult to be disengaged from the world view of the Taliban, therefore, our respondents used them as two synonyms. Both the Taliban and Mullah share a strict adherence to Islamic Sharia.

Section 5 presents the argument of other respondents that the conservative religious narrative is potentially diminishing all the possibilities of considering religion a dynamic force of social cohesion and peacebuilding. Religious-reformists, in particular, also perceive Islam as an important aspect of Pakhtun life that can contribute to organic relationships based on mutual respect. For them, Islam is a progressive religion that can bring social justice and equality to their society. Different clusters see the threat of religious orthodoxy in distinct ways, though not entirely opposing to one another nor neatly separated from one another. In all cases, the presence of orthodox sections is perceived by them to be inhibiting the progressive and liberal role of Islam.

Section 6 explores why the tendency of looking towards the state and pressurising it is strong than the tendency of inward trajectory in the emergent civil society in Peshawar. In this section it is argued that the inward looking tendency in the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar remains weak and need attention and its weakness is associated with certain internal dynamics by the respondents.

Section 7 concludes the chapter by showing that the 'emergent civil society's' emphasis on communitising the civil society and strengthening the dialogical spaces, as expressed by some respondents, needs to be focused if the project of embedding civil society in local cultural perspectives is to be realised and if the tensiosn that emanate from such desire are to be resolved.

6.2. 'Emergent civil society's' criticality and the identification of the dark role of the state

This thesis argues that respondents' in-depth critique of the Pakistani state is an important aspect of the 'emergent civil society' because in the Western debate of civil society and democracy, civil society, whether liberal or alternative, is perceived to be an important player. Civil society can play an important part in exposing sites of decision making and power within the state because civil society is influenced by such decision making (Warren, 2013). However, the alternative discourse of civil society, which is informed by the Critical Theory tradition, it is this criticality that emerges, quite prominently, as an important feature of civil society (Chambers, 2002). The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar also demonstrates this criticality as respondents' voices of peace in Peshawar are attempting to expose the way the Pakistani state has unfolded in the post colonial period and demonstrate how society was affected by promoting a specific brand of Islam.

This section will present how voices of peace in Peshawar protest against the biased role of the Pakistani state that curtailed their respective political, cultural and human rights and instead tried to superimpose a specific brand of Islam on entire Pakistani society. It was explored in chapter 3 that Pakistan after its inception in 1947 has experienced limited democratic periods, and the military has ruled the country for decades. Thus, retaining our clusters of culturalists, religionist-reformists, women-reformists and politicalists, as elaborated in chapter 5, the empirical data inform us that these groups strongly criticize the role of the ML's leadership and military in the state politics. Respondents argue

that military interventions, in particular, stalled political processes that were emerging from the non-state social space and which could have contributed to democracy.

They[101] show a strong consciousness of the fact that the Pakistani state in the post-colonial period was occupied by the un-elected forces that resorted to the discourse of the Right[102] while repressing plural, secular and democratic voices. A male Pakhtun academic, aged 57, from Peshawar University referring to the early years of Pakistan after 1947 said:

'Legitimacy comes from people...when they vote you and send you as their representative in the parliament. But they were not chosen people... so they looked for a slogan that can be used as a tool of legitimacy and befool people'.

(Interviewee No. 2, February, 2011).

Our respondents demonstrate a tendency to see the exclusionary orientation of the Pakistani state after its inception in 1947 as the denial of democracy. Politicalists, with strong Pakhtun nationalist backgrounds, for instance, argue that people in the subcontinent were not familiar with the Western idea of the state. Nevertheless, political forces amongst the Muslim population did emerge during colonial times in opposition to imperial rule. They argue that indigenous political forces in the present day Pakistan existed, but after the birth of Pakistan in 1947, such indigenous political forces were not recognized as valid political voices in KP by the then ML leadership and, thus, were excluded from entering the state. Shutting the state to such indigenous political voices

[101] By 'they' we refer to all clusters, here, with the exception of 'religious-revivialists' as explored in the coming sections.
[102] 'Right' here means the deployment of religious idioms.

contributed to an enormous gap between the state and society. A senior male Pakhtun academic, aged 54 from Peshawar University said:

'The modern state emerged in the West according to the needs and experiences of their societies. Here, in the third world, colonialists introduced their state structure and it came from the top and was not produced in response to the needs of the local society. So you see a disconnection between society and the state. Unfortunately, this disconnection was intentionally sustained after the emergence of Pakistan'. (Interviewee No. 13, February, 2012).

Another senior male Pakhtun, aged 56, government employee, associated with a Pakhtun nationalist political party said:

'I think the dilemma from the very first day here in Pakistan is that there is a big gap between the state and society. Rulers of the country acted as if people are the subjects and not citizens'. (Interviewee No. 11, February, 2012).

However, it does not mean that the Pakistani state and the non-state social space worked separately in neatly separate spheres. Instead, our respondents argue that the Pakistani state did intervene within the non-state social space for instrumental objectives. On the one hand, nationalist/socialist, secular and democratic political forces were suppressed and marginalized by the central state. On the other hand, the state resorted to selective patronage within the non-state social space in order to neutralize political oppositions. Some respondents argue, as shown below, that the military-bureaucratic-elite forces at the centre used the discourse of the religion to legitimize their rule and discredit their political opponents who aspired for democratic ideals. In the

opinion of such respondents, the state, while denying all the fundamental principles of democracy, has behaved with prejudice towards political forces that were trying to create a secular and plural political order. A male academic, aged 43, from Peshawar University shared his concerns about the centrist state in these words:

'Then we have a centrist state which pretends and presents itself as one nation and does not acknowledge any diversity. The nature of the state is highly un-democratic and anti-pluralist even if we have a parliament. Then religion has historically evolved as its important tool of policy'. (Interviewee No. 12, March, 2012).

A male Pakhtun academic, aged 44, from Peshawar University with journalistic background said:

> *'If I were to write the history of the early years of Pakistan after 1947...I will definitely label that period as "neo-colonialist era" rather independence...civil bureaucracy was used to lure local influential people to support the state and to malign the political opposition as we saw during the British colonial period'.*
>
> (Interviewee No. 14, March, 2012).

Nonetheless, while some respondents were critical of the Pakistani state in the post 1947 period yet they were able to place their respective critique within the context also. For instance the same male respondent with journalistic background said:

'While the regional context of 1947 placed very heavy constraints on the state...yet I assume that the solution to those issues should have been sought by the political

leadership, which was weaker rather than military establishment that grew more powerful'.

A constitutionally regulated political order was something that did not happen after the arrival of Pakistan in 1947. Instead, the state was captured by the very powerful to secure their positions and draw out maximum benefits from the state and distribute them amongst those who could be incorporated in ruling elites. In other words, civil society that was potentially countering the hegemony of the state in Pakistan, was intentionally kept at the periphery and suppressed consistently by the central state.

6.3. Prioritizing the discourse of 'Religion': the state's instrumental use of religion

Our respondents, culturalists and reformist in particular, both from Peshawar and outside, argued that the central state perceived the ethnically informed political opposition as a rival and to neutralize their opposition the central state attempted to create a single homogeneous Pakistani nation.

However, the creation of a homogeneous Pakistani nation was also in resonance with the objective of the independence movement. As explored in chapter 3 that the independence movement aimed at the creation of a Muslim state, which held in check the ethnic differences amongst the Muslim population. Nevertheless, such ethnic differences emerged and started asserting once Pakistan was achieved in 1947.

These multiple ethnic identities were then perceived as potential threats by the central state. Denying the right of political diversity to its own people, the

Pakistani state deployed the idioms of the religious Right to silence their opposition. However, the state's 'undemocratic and prejudiced actions', as one non-Pakhtun male respondent, aged 48, from Punjab mentioned, against culturally-grown, local political voices created empty political spaces which were gradually filled by the religious forces within the non-state social space, at times, extreme and intolerant towards others. A senior male Pakhtun, aged over 60, with a socialist political background said:

'The suppression of local culture and leadership didn't help the state at all...The suppression of the nationalist-secular voices encouraged the religious forces both at political and social levels. Not only nationalist but socialist and communist political spaces were hunted and chased'. (Interviewee No. 22, March, 2012).

Culturalists, and reformists, politicalists in particular, argue that the newly born Pakistani state could have resorted to positive or liberal nationalism instead of negative or illiberal nationalism, wherein the local voices or political groups embracing different political ideals, perhaps, would have contributed to diversity and pluralism within society also. A non-Pakhtun male, aged 48 from Punjab mentioned:

'Society had been already religiously plural and did not entertain any religious extremism. The local political opposition represented such secular and plural spirit because they emerged from the same society...and accommodating such local political groups within the state would have resolved many issues'.

(Interviewee No. 79, May, 2012).

They argue also that the suppression of the democratic, nationalist, socialist and secular political forces in the last 60 years since the inception of Pakistan in 1947 and the use of the discourse of the religion by the Pakistani state contributed to the emergence of the religious political forces or political forces of the religious right. At the same time, the state's encouragement of a particular brand of Islam, strengthened the institutions of mosque and madrasa. As two powerful institutions, some mosques and madaris were used by different religious political groups in the Afghan Jihad and which valorised the ideal of Jihad at the social level. However, this happened under the patronage of the Pakistani state as we explored in the third chapter. A senior male Pakhtun socialist activist, aged over 60, who became active in politics in the early 1960s in KP said:

'After 1947, we heard that Pakistan ka mathlab kiya lailaha illalah[103]*... but we knew it was a political ploy only...the Pakistani state mentions neither local culture, nor people or gave any vision of social and economic development…now you tell me? Who was going to implement the rule of Allah (God) in Pakistani?...Of course mullahs (religious clerics) and see what have they done with the society'.* (Interviewee No. 30, March, 2012).

The legitimacy of the state, according to our respondents, culturalists and reformist in particular, was to come from people's participation in the state rather than excluding them. They refer to the state's deployment of religion to seek undemocratic legitimacy. The specific use of a Sunni-brand of Islam during

[103] This slogan was popularized during the independence movement and retained later after the inception of Pakistan in 1947. It means the objective of Pakistan is nothing else but to implement the rule of Allah (God). The first kalmia (recitation) of Islam was used to propagate this objective.

Zia's regime created great implications for the civil society in Pakistan as it emboldened orthodox sections within the non-state social space.

6.4. A shared discourse of criticality

It was argued in the previous chapter that different perspectives are invoked by the respondents to provide the philosophical foundation of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. While rejecting violent extremism and criticizing the role of the state, our respondents invoke different perspectives and we encounter the interplay of the same multiple legacies as we observed in the previous chapter. Different clusters launch their respective critique of the state according to their particular worldviews. As a result, we can observe a mild difference rather than a tension between different worldviews. However, the difference in worldviews is not insurmountable and respondents, at times, develop a shared criticality.

In other words, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar presents a discourse, which is oriented more towards criticality. However, this criticality is underpinned by a strong strand of reflexivity. Critical voices become reflexive also as they trace the origin and debate the causes of the violent extremism. The reflexive strand demonstrates that Pakhtun were not religious bigots but under particular political conditions, religion was used to promote violence in the region, which has created dangerous repercussions for people.

Tensions, nonetheless, soon become more frictional between all clusters on the one side and religious revivalists on the other as shown in the coming sections.

The following section will demonstrate how criticality invokes different legacies.

While politicalists emphasise more on minimizing the distance between the state and society, culturalists argue that the cultural needs of the Pakhtun society were ignored by the centrist state. A male academic Pakhtun poet based in Peshawar said:

'We never had a state of our own. The mother tongue is the soul of a culture, but it was never promoted and now young Pakhtun generations neither can write Pakhtu nor know their 5000 year old history.' (Interviewee No. 36, March, 2012).

A male Pakhtun journalist from Peshawar said:

'The state was not sensitive to our institutions and ways of life. Our social institutions of Hujra and Jirga have also declined as a result...our Pakhtun live on self-help base'. (Interviewee No. 40, March, 2012).

A male Pakhtun lawyer from Peshawar said:

'Language is our cultural identity and connects us with the past but we were told to speak another language and we have to consider that language as our national language...now see what is the education rate here and Punjab?...because we had to learn a new language first'. (Interviewee No. 45, May, 2012).

The reformists, on the other hand, bring in the discourse of citizenship, which, they argue, was never a priority of the centrist state. A male Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'When I sleep at night I make sure that I keep a gun under my pillow to protect my family...because police is not going to protect me it is only for the elites here.

(Interviewee No. 46, May, 2012).

Both culturalists and reformists seem to be endorsing the positions of the nationalist/socialist and reformist religious politicalists. Culturalists, for example, argue that the promotion of a specific brand of Islam by the state in the 1980s further damaged Pakhtun culture and social structures and created spaces for the violent non-state religious actors at the cultural level. They argue that the arrival of Islam in the 9th and 10th centuries AD did not make the entire Pakhtun nation, religious bigots rather Islam coalesced with the Pakhtun culture. A male Pakhtun writer aged 37, from Swat Valley said:

'Pakhtun were Muslims, but we were never fanatics'. (Interviewee No. 66, May, 2012).

Respondents with different worldviews oppose religious-revivalists, as discussed in the coming sections, who mainly come from Deobandi-Salafi[104] madaris or some religious political parties that claim that Islam has to exist in original and pure form, which then lead them to embrace a non-pluralist religious positioning. Opposing such fundamentalist voices, they blame the state's involvement in the Afghan Jihad in the 1980s and its backing of the Afghan Taliban in the 1990s. Thus, they argue that it has strengthened the

[104] Salafi means the followers of the first generations of Muslim. It is sometimes synonymously used with Wahabsim or Ahle-e-Hadith (Valentine, 2014). In the context of Pakistan Deobandi, is also sometimes used to refer to Salafis.

Wahhabist[105] religious strand which threatens both the Pakhtun culture and the tolerant Islam as it existed amongst Pakhtun. A female Pakhtun poet aged 40, from Peshawar protesting the biased role of the state said:

'We were very backward or kept backward…first religion was thrust down our throats…we were told "Pakhtun are Muslims...and very pious", Pakhtun were told that you are Islamic and very great fighters and then encouraged to go and fight jihad to help the Afghan Pakhtun Muslim brothers and sisters'. (Interviewee No. 68, May, 2012).

This realization emerges very clearly from amongst the reformists also, that the state promoted a specific brand of Sunni political Islam and backed Jihadist groups during 1980s, which has potentially contributed to the current religious extremism, intolerance and sectarian violence in the country. A non-Pakhtun woman activist, aged 38, from a woman's associations located in Peshawar said:

'The state's backing of religious forces strengthened the religious conservative strands within the society as the mullah started to play a stronger role, emerging as more powerful at the social level. Mullah relied on community members for his survival, but all of a sudden the entire state machinery was there to back him up and assign him an important role. He was inflated by the state'. (Interviewee No. 72, May, 2012).

The reformists, who focus more on the non-state 'social' space, argue that the state's promotion of Jihad and backing of non-state Jihadi groups generated serious implications for civil society. General Zia's regime in the 1980s was

[105] The followers of Wahab, an 18th century preacher in Arabia, who wanted to clean Islam of un-Islamic practices and make it compatible with the original teachings of Islam during 6th century (Valentine, 2014).

consistently pointed out by reformists as the turning point, when policies and constitutional amendments were introduced to Islamize the Pakistani society. One of such orthodox steps, was his introduction of a 'Blasphemy Law'. A Hindko-speaking woman aged 36, human rights activist from Peshawar while referring to the implications of blasphemy laws on society said:

'The Murder of Punjab's governor[106] *by a non-state actor in the name of religion is just one instance and how civil society has kept quiet. See? Now religious groups are more organized, well structured and well resourced. They think that their violence is legitimate and it has instilled fear in us. We cannot protest even an unlawful murder'.* (Interviewee No. 58, May, 2012).

The communicative interaction, inspired by a commitment to peace, assumes a shared sense of critically amongst the 'connectors'. 'Connectors', however, also show a deeper layer of reflexivity as the origin and causes of violent extremism are traced. 'Connectors' are respondents, which include men and women, Muslims and Non-Muslims, and Pakhtun and non-Pakhtun as they cross-cut different clusters. With the exception of the religious-revivalist, the connectors help us clearly see the shared critique, which emerge from the empirical data and, thus, offer the possibility of some cross cutting themes. The most relevant to this research amongst these cross-cutting themes, is: the democratic role of the state is immensely important and the Pakhtun culture is tolerant in character. Connectors also reflect the main argument of the thesis that the 'emergent civil society' is seeking an indigenous persona. The following example

[106] Punjab's governor was shot dead by his own bodyguard in 2011 when he proposed changes in the blasphemy law.

from our respondents' interviews will demonstrate how different connectors cross-cut certain relevant themes.

A male socialist respondent aged 28, acting as a connector, stretches out theoretically, to the culturalists while referring to the religious politics:

'The religious forces have been there for 60 years since 1947, so of course they created some impacts on the society. Yet they could not demolish Pakhtun values of tolerance that we built up over centuries. We still interact with our religious communities and never gave importance as to who is Shia or Sunni'. (Interviewee No. 47, May, 2012).

A senior Pakhtun woman, human rights activist from Peshawar acting also as a connector endorsed the culturalists' concerns that Pakhtun were never intolerant said:

'We were not radical but we were made so. Our religious parties, Saudi Arabia and Iran have been using our land, but we criticize the USA. Why is Saudi Arabia making madaris here and why don't they make it there in their own countries? We have to change our foreign policy. Their involvement in our country must be discussed on the media'. (Interviewee No. 63, May, 2012).

A young Pakhtun social activist with no background in political activism acted as a connector also and endorsed the politicalists' and culturalists' perspectives when he pointed out the hegemonic role of the biased state.

'If you turn good values into vices and then spread it to the entire society, then what will you expect? The states demonized local heroes and valorised Jihadists

just to attract innocent people for strategic objectives'. (Interviewee No. 50, May, 2012).

The radicalization of some sections within the society by religious forces, whether political or non-political, with a clear backing by the state, comes out very clearly as an important cross-cutting theme.

The data collected outside KP, a total of six interviews, also, seem to reflect these themes too. A male academic and social activist, aged 40, from Punjab said:

'In post 9/11 when the Taliban started pouring to FATA, they started targeting Pakhtun social structures and started killing local elders, especially in FATA so that they can create a vacuum to fill. They knew that the traditional structures like Jirga can still resist them, so they consciously destroyed them'. (Interviewee No. 78, May, 2012).

Here, the connectors' voices seem to support the desire amongst the respondents that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar must come from the organic, local cultural and religious perspectives as discussed in the previous chapter in detail, because, they argue that these perspectives do not inspire violent extremism rather discourage it. However, here they seem to frame their argument within a broader political context and demonstrate that the desire of embedding the 'emergent civil society' within immanent perspectives depends, to a certain extent, on the responsible role of the Pakistani state. In other words, to actualize the project of embedding the 'emergent civil society' certain pre-

conditions, including citizenships, social justice and security need to be provided by the state.

These connectors amongst the politicalists, culturalists and reformists, recalling respective 'political', 'social', and 'cultural' implications of a hostile and hegemonic state, seem to exhibit a shared perspective and argument that the state has denied 'political', 'religious' and 'cultural' diversity. The state's attempt to control and suppress the nationalist-secular political forces, discouragement of the Pakhtun culture, and the promotion of a specific brand of political Islam, while promoting involvement in the Afghan jihad and backing the Taliban in the 1990s, contributed to the emergence of the current wave of violent religious extremism.

However, this cross cutting emergent theme is narrated differently as the three clusters of the respondents deploy different terminologies based on their experiential backgrounds and their specific perceptions of the state and the Pakhtun society. Using their respective frame of references, they all count the responsibilities of the state vis-à-vis civil society differently.

Politicalists, using a political lexicon and examples, wish to see a strong democratic state so that the state delivers social justice, remain responsive to its people, and ensure equality and, thereby, contribute to the emergence of a peaceful society. Politicalists argue that people or society, then, through political participation can make the state a functioning entity. They recognize a politically-informed dialectical relationship between the state and society. In other words they argue that a just and peaceful society is possible if the state

guarantees citizens' political rights. For instance a male Pakhtun political activist based in Peshawar said:

'If everyone's rights are protected and the state remains impartial towards different social and cultural groups and treat them on equal terms then it can bring peace'. (Interviewee No. 12, March, 2012).

Reformists do not seem to disagree with politicalists when they identify the issues of governance, human rights, and basic needs provision as essential responsibilities of the state. The discourse of a weak state that has failed in protecting the rights of its citizens and improving the rule of law emerges very clearly from amongst reformists. However, reformists, also, argue that their individual liberties are equally important and therefore the real domain to protect their liberties is civil society. The state's role is to provide them a favourable environment. A female Pakhtun civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'I think we as common people have a role. You just cannot leave everything to the politicians. You need to keep them under some checks...but we also need to talk about different issues loud and clear in such platforms'. (Interviewee No. 63, May, 2012).

Culturalists, whilst sharing their respective concerns, argue for the possibility of cultural progress and evolution, which is to be ensured by the state and which could potentially contribute to the creation of a tolerant society.

Politicalists and culturalists talk more about the denial of the political and cultural rights of the Pakhtun while reformists refer more to human rights.

While criticizing the state, they identify and regularly refer to the implications of such policies over society. However, here, society appears to be more general in character, denoting 'the people', inhabiting the non-state social space. The shared criticality underpinned by a reflexive strand, however, is soon checked by opposing, antithetical voices as shown in the following section.

6.5. The rise of the frictional encounter: opposing the spectre of religious conservatism

However, the difference between different worldviews, which remained mild in spirit, develop into a frictional encounter as religious-revivalists contest these voices. This reminds us of the frictional encounter between conservative traditional forces and feminists as discussed in the previous chapter in detail.

The religious-revivalist do not seem to be endorsing these desires of a tolerant Pakhtun society and the aspirations of citizenship and human rights which they recognize as Western in essence and, thus, incompatible with Islam. Our revivalist-religionists respondents mainly come from three religious political parties, i.e. JI (Jumath e Islami), JUI-F (Jameeath Ualam e Islam-Fazal u Rahman Group) and JUI-S (Jameeath Ualam e Islam-Sami ul Haq Group)[107]. However, they also include some Deoband-madrasa students and prayer leaders (imam). These three religious political parties have their strong presence in KP and some other parts of Pakistan and regularly contest provincial and national elections. While the exact number of mosques is unknown, in KP, the number of madaris is also uncertain. Again, not every madrasa is affiliated with Deobandi

[107] These three political parties made an alliance and remained in government at KP and Baluchistan from 2002 to 2007. If JI is considered to be in the forefront of the Afghan Jihad during Zia regime then the most of the afghan Taliban emerged from Deoband madaris affiliated with JUI-F and JUI-S.

school of thought as other madaris such as affiliated with Barelvi[108] sect also exist. However, it was during the Afghan Jihad in the 1980s and the post Afghan period in the 1990s that these religious political parties and Deobandi school of thought received prominence. They advocate Islamic political ideals and emphasise that Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam and it has to be ideologically an Islamic country.

Nevertheless, the researcher also interviewed some individuals who neither belonged to these religious political parties nor were the students of any particular madrasa. They, however, endorsed the Deobandi or Wahhabi school of thought and accepted Jihad as the most viable and meaningful struggle. The following mini-biography, followed by quotes, will illustrate their worldviews and social positions. However, quotes in the following section also show respondents' ethnic, gender and associational background.

Mini-biography of 'Interviewee no. 45.' Male, Pakhtun aged 32

'Interviewee no. 45' is an educated male and belong to a well-off family. He suspended his education few years ago and went to join a training camp in Punjab to receive military training. After receiving military training, he went to Kashmir for Jihad. While he did not disclose which Jihadi group he was affiliated with, he shared the detail of how was he trained and what did he do in Kashmir. He also claimed to know some local Taliban leaders as he offered the researcher the opportunity that if the researcher wishes, he can arrange interviews with some Taliban. He regularly claimed, throughout his interview, that the Sunni,

[108] Barelvi sect in Pakistan represent the mystical aspects of Islam and consider shrines as important sacred sites.

puritan Islamic version is the only true version of Islam, which must be defended. When he was asked about the Taliban's presence in KP, he responded:

'No matter what these so-called liberals and secularists say about Pakhtun... KP is an Islamic province and Pakhtun are chosen people because we love Islam and know how to fight'.

A male Pakhtun prayer leader and a graduate of a Deoband madrasa aged 38, located in KP said:

'The only aim of Pakistan's creation was that we raise the flag of Islam here because it was achieved in the name of Islam'. (Interviewee No. 38, March, 2012).

For them Islam is a political system and the Pakistani state needs to implement that system in its real form. In response to a question related to what is the real Islam, a religious cleric and a graduate of Deoband Madrasa, aged 41 said:

'Look, there is only one Islam. It is a propaganda against Islam and we need to discourage this...Mohammad (Peace Be Upon Him) gave us the real Islam and we need to practice that only. There are so many rituals and customs which must be banned'. (Interviewee No. 41, March, 2012).

When a young Pakhtun student of a Deoband madrasa, aged 27 was asked about the Taliban's bombing of different shrines in Peshawar, he replied:

'Have you gone to a shrine? Just go there and see what these innocent people do there. They bow there and pray. It is idolatry, which Islam has forbidden...and we have learnt them from Non-Muslims'. (Interviewee No. 39, March, 2012).

They also perceive the nationalists' and socialists' ideals of nationalism and secularism to be incompatible with the Islamic ideals of a single Ummah[109] that transcends all nationalist claims and perceive these ideals as Western in spirit. A male Pakhtun aged 32, trained in a religious seminary for Jihad in Kashmir said:

'These concepts have been given to us by the West. You know during the early era of Islam when our non-Muslims opponents did not know how to defeat us they sent us books on philosophy to corrupt our minds and our religion...Pakhtun, Punjabi, Bengali are just men made identities but God has given us just one identity and that is "Muslim". (Interviewee No. 45, March, 2012).

However, on the question of what Islam could be and how it will find expression within the state institutional set-up, their interpretation differs from one another. This is one reason one of our respondent with a socialist background called religious political parties of Pakistan as 'sectarian' rather than 'religious'. Nonetheless, on the question of Sharia as the only formative source of interactions, they seem to be offering a united challenge to the 'emergent civil society' and thus stand in opposition to other respondents such culturalists, reformists and religious reformists. Such an understanding of Islam amongst our respondents who have a strong religious background remind us of the Deoband's reaction to the British institutions in the 19th century as identified in chapter 3.

These religious revivalists seem to be different in their articulation about Islam from the religious-reformists who seem to acknowledge the complexity of

[109] Ummah is an Arabic word and means community and, which is for all Muslims irrespective of their local or ethnic identities.

modern day life and emphasise the re-interpretation of Islam in the newly emerged contexts in Pakistan and KP. Thus religious-reformists come very close to the national, socialist politicalists on the question of the importance of democracy and political diversity in Pakistan. They also do not seem to be adhering to the revivalists' assertion that only a fundamental Islamic identity must be prioritized over the local culture in order to build a Pakistani nation. A male Pakhtun doctor of medicine, aged 42, from Peshawar said:

'Look the word Ummah was used during the Prophet's time for all those religious groups who inhabited the city of Madina[110] and it included Jews, Christians and Muslims. Islam is very open to others and tolerant.' (Interviewee No. 32, March, 2012).

6.6. Religion as an opportunity to build civil society and the threat of religious conservatism

The discourse of peace, then emerges as an important verifiable theme that grapples with the orthodox sections of the non-state social space, which they think was patronized by certain policies of the Pakistani state and grew stronger within the context of regional politics.

The presence of orthodox sections in the non-state social space in Peshawar is alerting the peace-oriented sections, who think that the conservative religious narrative is potentially diminishing all the possibilities of considering religion a dynamic force of social cohesion and peacebuilding. For instance, a 39 year old

[110] Madina was the capital of early Islam, where the Prophet migrated and settled and is situated in the Western part of Saudi Arabia.

Pakhtun male member of a shrine committee located in Peshawar city shared his experience:

'They (the Taliban) know that we do not share their strict version of Islam. For us Islam is peace and unconditional love...when we arranged a spiritual musical event here, we received threats from them, so we started patrolling our streets and shrine and after bombing Rahman Baba's shrine[111], most of the shrine committees in KP have arranged their won security'. (Interviewee No. 74, May, 2012).

Peace oriented sections, then opposes the religious orthodoxy and fundamentalism that seem to share the Taliban's version of Islam. They, however, do not reject the value of religion in public affairs as the above quote reveals. For them, Islam can be interpreted in different ways and does not pose a threat to others. This comes out very clearly from amongst religious-reformists who think that Islam, if rightly interpreted, can mobilize people for the Islamic ideals of social justice and equality. A 31 years old Pakhtun female poet and academic from Peshawar said:

'Trust me Islam will transform you first and make a better human being first. It is all about bringing justice to everyone. The theme of the Koran is "justice" but these Mullahs will never discuss it'. (Interviewee No. 58, May, 2012).

Respondents' perspective of religion resonate Macmurray's approach to religion as he argues that religion can potentially contribute in building organic relations within a given community (as cited by McIntosh, 2012: 11-28). Religious-reformists also perceive Islam as an important aspect of Pakhtun life that can

[111] Rahmab Baba (1650-1711) was a mystic poet whose tomb, located in Peshawar, was bombed in March 2009 by the militants.

contribute to organic relationships based on mutual respect. Religious-reformists believe that Islam can be interpreted positively, but we need to take into account the complexities of our contexts. For them, Islam is a progressive religion that can bring social justice and equality to their society. A 36 years old male Pakhtun civil society activist said:

'I regularly go to the Rumi Foundation because there you see how people with different backgrounds engage in the interpretation of Islam. I think we need such spaces, so that we can tolerate difference of opinions...I do not see anything wrong if someone has a different version of Islam until he remains respectful towards others also'. (Interviewee No. 10, Februarys, 2011).

Different clusters see the threat of religious orthodoxy in distinct ways, though not entirely opposing to one another nor neatly separated from one another. Culturalists, for instance, perceive the conservative orthodox sections in the non-state social space as a direct threat to the cultural pluralism that has indigenously grown from within the Pakhtun culture. Pakhtun culture for them was a seat of religious pluralism. A 37 years old male Pakhtun political activist based in Peshawar said:

'For centuries we have been living with Hindus, Sikhs and Christians here in KP. They have been free to build their worship-places. We never demolish their places of worship. We never stopped them from worshipping. We never pressurized them to convert to Islam'. (Interviewee No. 26, March, 2012).

A old female Pakhtun writer based in Peshawar said:

'We Pakhtun have respected religious diversity here. But now they (the Taliban) are harassing them as if the entire Pakhtun nation is bigot'. (Interviewee No. 56, May, 2012).

Women-reformists see it as a direct threat to their agenda of women-rights. Fearing the orthodox religious class, they avoid public exposure as was noticed during my field work. A senior female Pakhtun women-rights activist while addressing a conference in Peshawar said:

'Even in the hot weather of 48c...women are asked to wear burka (veil) to go to toilets in the IDPs (Internally displaced People) camps. Is this what our religion is all about? To add miseries to the lot of women?'

For politicalists with a socialist-nationalist background, religion was part of the Pakhtun culture and assimilated local cultural influences. Under Muslim world, they claim that the rise of orthodox religious class bent on purifying Islam here in KP is an imported phenomenon. A 44 years old male Pakhtun academic from Peshawar University said:

'I think it is the strength of Islam as a religion rather than a weakness that it assimilated various cultural influences in different parts of the world. It came here in the sub-continent and took a more a mystical colour, which is different from the one that we find in the Saudi Arabia. For me it is normal that things may be different'. (Interviewee No. 13, March, 2012).

In all cases, we see the tendency amongst our respondents according to which Islam can be seen as an ideal that can contribute to social justice and equality. The presence of orthodox sections is perceived by them to be inhibiting the

progressive and liberal role of Islam. To imagine a peaceful society wherein religion is perceived as a positive force is inhibited by the conservative sections. Creating sets of 'Islamic' and 'Un-Islamic' matters as two binary opposites, the rising religious class remains dismissive of anything that is couched in a-religious vocabulary promoting their so called 'authentic' Islam that is used as a 'whip against all liberals' (Hanafi 2002). The religious revivalists' interpretation of Islam leaves very marginal space for anything new or the analysis of religion in the changed context as religious reformists advocate, diminishing the chances of a liberal interpretation of Islam that may take into account the complexity of current conditions.

The arguments of various clusters against religious conservatism then is not entirely different from our argument that we built in the previous chapter as we suggested that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar is seeking an indigenous persona. Religious conservatism threatens, according to them, the very organic, plural Pakhtun life. Pakhtun society offers the possibility of togetherness, to use Hannah Arendt's famous term (1973), by providing spaces wherein conflicts may be resolved, for instance Jirga. Hannah's conception of 'civilian life' seems to illuminate the concerns of peace-oriented sections in Peshawar. By 'civilian life' Hannah means a realm where ordinary people make opinions, build relations, ask question, explore and assume identities and thus civilian life remains dynamic, allowing new members join in (as cited by Mustafa & Brown, 2010). The peace-oriented sections in Peshawar are concerned about Pakhtun civilian life. They see this Pakhtun civilian life in opposition to the religious conservatives' totalizing tendency that tries to consume the richness of civilian life. If totalitarianism means a tendency to present a single version of human

reality as the only authentic form and eliminate everything that may oppose such a version (Mustafa & Brown, 2010: 182), then peace consciousness's fear and concerns about conservative religious sections is understandable. A Pakhtun male academic and peace activist said in a seminar in his presentation on violent extremism in the region:

'We need such spaces to reclaim our pluralism and religious diversity. We want to be what we were and what we are. These religious extremists cannot be our representatives...and they cannot change our humanity'.

Our women respondents bring in their own concerns as women in the Pakhtun civilian life were already marginalized unlike men and oppose religious orthodoxy that they think have further marginalized women. A Pakhtun female civil society activist based in Peshawar said:

'As 'Aman Tehreek' (Peace Movement) emerged in Peshawar in 2009, a number of women associations in Peshawar welcomed it and joined it because we knew we have to stand up with our men to bring peace and we could clearly a new threatening spectre was rising'. (Interviewee No. 64, May, 2012).

Opposition to religious orthodoxy and the Taliban's violence do not come as two separate reactions. The Taliban's fundamentalist and radical Islam, inspired by the Afghan's Taliban regime (1999-2000) that favour the strict implementation of Sharia is seen as the violent expression of religious orthodoxy. Referring to the orthodox religious section in the society, a Punjabi-speaking male researcher said:

'We have either the Taliban or the Taliban-without-violence...such extremist pockets in our society prove to be their nurseries. They have become so strong that no one can speak openly about any changes in blasphemy law or we cannot even propose to debate it'. (Interviewee No. 79, May, 2012).

While the peace-oriented sections fear that the plurality and diversity within Pakhtun civilian spaces are threatened by the totalizing tendencies of religious orthodoxy, the Taliban have actually targeted such spaces. All important sites in the non-state social space whether formal or informal, have been targeted including Jirga, shrines, cultural heritage, tombs of poets, educational sites and public gatherings in order to disrupt the togetherness and plurality of life. While the Taliban targeted the informal section in the non-state social space, they did not spare the formal sector too. The Taliban's attacks on polio workers, NGO workers and offices also led to fear in the formal sector.

By focusing on the peace-oriented voices in the region amongst the Pakhtun, this thesis challenges the hastily-generated superficial analysis of the Pakistani society at the international level. It was perceived that the religious militancy in Pakistan is due to the popularity of the Sharia rule and love of Islam amongst ordinary people and thus the trend need to be reversed by economic aid[112] (Jacob & Fair, 2010). The scale of the Taliban's violence and the state's support of such violent forces, misled the international community that '…Pakistanis are more receptive to militancy' (Fair et al., 2010:497). Rejecting such crude

[112] U.S. Special Envoy Richard Holbrooke argued that Washington should "target the economic and social roots of extremism in Western Pakistan with more economic aid." (Cited by Jacob & Fair, 2010: 80).

analysis, this thesis draws attention to the indigenous peace-oriented struggle in Peshawar that seems to have emerged amidst violence.

6.7. From resistance against masculinity and extremism to social action

It is argued in previous and current chapters that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar navigates between cultural change and forces of hegemonic masculinity on the one hand and between peace consciousness and religious violent extremism on the other hand. However, civil society's multiple engagements with antithetical forces is occurring within an overarching tendency of indigenizing civil society within local cultural and religious perspectives, where, nevertheless, tensions amidst different perspectives exist. While grappling with different antithetical forces does demonstrate that some sections within the non-state social space in Peshawar exhibit the potential and ability of people to build civil society yet these multiple tensions pose certain questions. For instance, to what extent can these sections emerge as an organized form of civil society that is capable of resolving the dilemmas of tensions between different worldviews, is both an important and relevant question? Such questions, however, also became part of my interview questions.

It appears from the empirical data that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, in order to resolve these tensions and emerge as an organized arena of social action, is looking more towards the state and pressurising it rather than taking an inward trajectory where key challenges need immediate attention.

By *looking more towards the state* (researcher's italics), it is suggested here that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar is focused more on the state and has

launched a sustained critique of the state. The objective of the sustained critique is to pressurise the state to create conditions that may ensure the safe operation of civil society, including implementation of citizenship and ensuring social justice and equality regardless of people's religious, ethnic and gendered background. It was observed in the previous chapter that civil society in its engagement with the masculine social structures considers the implementation of citizens' rights (women's rights in particular) as an important step towards resolving this tension. Women's associations, in particular, assign immense importance to the rule of law so that it may discourage violence against them. It was also observed in the above sections that peace consciousness in its struggle with violent extremism and fundamentalism, expects the state to ensure religious pluralism and provide security.

It is this looking towards the state and pressurising it, which comes out very clearly from the data. However, looking inward was also of interest to the researcher and several questions were asked to explore to what extent members of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar are aware of the internal issues, such as the charges of corruption and poor management in the registered associations and how are they going to address them.

The following section will examine how the inward-looking tendency within the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar is taking place and whether or not it has taken any observable form.

In order to understand the character of this inward-looking tendency, some of the internal dynamics of the non-state social space were explored. However, instead of exploring the entire internal dynamics in detail which is beyond the

scope of this study, most relevant key aspects were focused. Foremost amongst such issues and quite relevant to our thesis is the presence of Western international donors that provided immense economic support mostly to the registered sections of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. The following section will show how the provision of an economic base by external donors, mostly of Western origin, generates certain implications for the entire 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

International donor countries and agencies work not only with the provincial governments but also fund formally registered associations in variety of projects. Foreign funding seems to become the only available choice for such registered associations that include women NGOs in particular. However, reliance on foreign funding generates new complexities and dynamics.

In the transaction between the formal civil society and the donors, the autonomy of the civil society becomes contested as formal civil society may design projects that donors may wish to see or buy. Reliance on foreign funding is seen by members of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar as a serious constraint as some respondents believe that it acts as a check on their independence. A senior male, Pakhtun, civil society and peace activist said:

'They (donors) have their own mandate…there was a UNO project for IDP's wherein they used the word 'shura' instead of Jirga because the UN thought that Jirga is not suitable because of a number of allegations labelled against it. I asked them why you are confusing these local people as once they go back they will use Jirga again. I personally see this rhetoric of independency as a joke'. (Interviewee No. 11, February, 2012).

Another Pakhtun male politicalist based in Peshawar protested:

'If our people can donate to mosques and madaris then why we are unable to mobilize these indigenous sources...you will do what they (donors) tell you'. (Interviewee No. 21, March, 2012).

However, women associations in Peshawar do not seem to share this concern rather argue that donors' presence have actually enabled them to project their voice. A Pakhtun woman leading a civil society organization in Peshawar said:

'Our men do not share our agenda, so how can they fund us'. (Interviewee No. 66, May, 2012).

Reliance on foreign funding creates a complex scene of intense competition within formal civil society to get funding, thereby, affecting their potential mutual collaboration. A senior male Pakhtun civil society activist compared the formal associations with 'sunflowers' that would always try to track the funder. The desperation to get funding may also involve illegal deals, as some respondents from the formal civil society in Peshawar claim to have witnessed. The charges of corruption within the formal civil society and donor community seem to have created a negative image of the formal civil society mainly NGOs in Peshawar. For some people such associations are given to profit. Some respondents also argued that it is easy for the donors to push their agenda and assert against individual led organizations rather than organic informal civil society that owes responsibility to the entire community. Well skilful to use the modern lexicon of development and peace, formal civil society's proximity to

the international donors mostly Western, then creates the impression that they are the advocates of Western values and work on their agendas.

Such charges, at times, take a more serious form. For instance, in recent election held in May 2013 in Pakistan, a religious political party in KP was denouncing another political party as an NGO and thus a Western agenda. Sometimes opposition to NGOs attains a violent form as workers involved in polio vaccination campaign have come under attack in Peshawar. The charges of carrying an anti-Islamic agenda against the formal civil society has led some NGOs to abandon certain programmes or restrict their activities in Peshawar as women respondents from women associations based in Peshawar mentioned.

Thus the presence of foreign donors seems to generate complex internal dynamics that seem to influence their potential collaboration and, which seem to eclipse the inward looking tendency.

In the case of informal civil society, donors' financial assistance seems to disappear. As informal civil society emerges from within the community, therefore, the community bears the cost of such associations as for example the cost of Jirga is born by the parties involved in conflict. A male Pakhtun member of a literary association based in Peshawar said:

'Look, we have been holding these sessions for three decades without reliance on foreign funding but can an NGO even imagine to do it'. (Interviewee No. 48, May, 2012).

While subscription fees and small community donations may be an important source of contributions suitable for small scale work, they may not be sufficient

for the major developmental challenges that the formal civil society has embraced.

On the other hand it also generates unequal relations between formal and informal civil society informed by a deep mistrust in Peshawar, wherein the former remains defensive and tries to rationalize their agenda, whilst the latter remains suspicious and protective of its culture. This is reflected in the formal civil society attempt not to take the acronym of NGO when it goes out to interact with the informal civil society. These misperceptions and mistrust also find its best articulation in the distrust of the women-led associations, whose agenda is perceived as unfamiliar not only by the informal civil society but also some sections within the formal civil society.

Strongly related to this is the lack of coordination and networking between formal and informal civil societies. The only connecting point between the formal and informal civil society is Community Based Organizations (CBOs) wherein CBOs act as their B teams or a means to undertake a specific project. A young Pakhtun and a member of a local CBO in Peshawar said:

'To say that we work with NGOs is wrong, we work under them in reality...they come here with a specific mindset that we are poor and know nothing'.

(Interviewee No. 31, March, 2012).

The jargon of 'capacity-building' is invoked by the formal civil society when connecting with the informal civil society through CBOs that imply that the formal civil society is lacking the skills and potentials to do a community job. Focusing, for example, on the relationship between a well established formal

association and a rural based CBO power may take an invisible form. The stronger group or an individual may exercise power by setting the agenda or norms wherein the latter that is powerless, marginalized and poor have to take positions and situate themselves or what Bacharch and Baratz, called limiting the 'scope of decision-making' of others (cited by Haugaard 2002 p: 26).

During this transitory transaction, the possibility of imagining the informal civil society as a potential site of democratic and peaceful norms and values is lost. In this relationship rationalized by 'capacity-building programmes', the formal civil society emerges as a powerful association with enormous technical, intellectual, and economic strength and informal civil society as a backward forum that needs investment. However, this lack of coordination both within formal civil society and between formal and informal civil society in Peshawar is also due to the different world views that is pointed out above.

Nonetheless, some respondents came up with different notions of working with the informal civil society as one young civil society activist leading a youth organization said:

'I remember once we had a conference and a man leading an NGO started talking about how to raise the capacity of rural people and change their perceptions of life and I stood of and said "you need to go and sit with them and learn what life is and what is humanity". (Interviewee No. 49, May, 2012).

The perception of formal civil society as individual run associations is also very common in Peshawar. This reminds us of Wachira Maina's (1998) description of 'NGIs (Non Governmental Individuals)' in the Kenyan context (p: 163) or our

respondents' use of 'NGO Enterprise or Industry'. Such descriptions perhaps capture the control of associations by a specific individual. The internal governance becomes more difficult if the formal association is led by a person with a military or bureaucratic background or has close relations with them or a political authority as is the case with some formal associations based in Peshawar. Upon my visit to one such association, I asked the administration officer as to why your organization is using a government official landline number and he replied:

'Do you not know? Our boss was a former civil bureaucrat.'

While, here, it is not proposed that foreign funding is essentially the only source that creates such dynamics and is responsible for them, yet we intend to show that there are deeper complexities within the non-state social space in Peshawar. An understanding of such internal complexities then may require the 'emergent civil society' to develop a robust inward looking or more reflective tendency.

6.8. Desires and realizations: Imagining hopes

The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar seems to be caught within a hybrid of highly complicated problems. It is not only the state that civil society needs to focus on, but a range of serious issues and problems within the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar needs serious attention. Alongside such inhibitions that has infringed and ensnared the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar from different dimensions, there are shared desires and sets of realizations amongst some of

the respondents that provides rays of hope and some sense of direction that may perhaps resolve some of the complex tensions pointed out above.

6.9. Communitizing civil society and seeking dialogical spaces

It was argued in the last section of the previous chapter that some respondents, 'culturalists-moderators', realize that the distance between formal and informal civil society seems to have divided the civil society not only spatially but also ideologically. To fill this gap, such respondents realize that civil society need to be autonomous and well embedded in the community. The desire of communitizing the civil society reflects respondents' understandings that the entire concept of civil society needs to be indigenized within the local cultural and religious perspectives and thus made an organic process. However, words such as 'community', 'people', and 'local culture' were frequently used by respondents belonging to other clusters also as synonymous with the term 'civil society'.

Embedding within the community would entail getting closer to informal civil society and creating robust but equal relationships. While still utilizing the material base provided by foreign aid, the formal civil society can still endeavour to identify and institutionalize those indigenous peacebuilding aspects of the culture, to use Galtung's term (1975), that would be recognized as familiar by the common public and generate ownership of those ideals that may include mutual trust, emphasised both by Pakhtunwali and religion, respect of women and the elderly, and the willingness to associate with others to address a specific community need rather than consider it a primordial residue. The desire of communitizing the civil society, perhaps indicates civil society's desire

to generate a civil narrative. Perhaps this means, again, a nexus of formal and informal civil society.

Strongly interlinked with the desire of communitizing the 'emergent civil society' as expressed by some respondents, is the desire and importance of debate. However, in all cases the emphasis on dialogue flows from the desire of encouraging different sections of the 'emergent civil society' to question their ways of life, generate new local solutions to complex problems and more importantly to understand each other's worldview that may contribute to tolerance and civility.

Perhaps the dialogical desirability is also about establishing validity claims in non-coercive ways to understand each other position and reach mutual consensus through speech acts as Habermas (1983) argues in his theory of communicative action. However, establishing validity claims may involve the use of reason, which is contested. The liberal reason, being instrumental and incapable of evaluating ends, perceives tradition as irrational (Nicholas, 2012). Such reason-based communication may also be incapable of evaluating power relations contrary to what Habermas hoped (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

Human reason is also perceived, as argued by Alasdair MacIntyre (1981), as embedded within the social argument of a tradition and strongly interlinked with the moral question of what is good (in our case civil) for the society. The various versions of the good in a given tradition may bring the social members into conflict besides coming into conflict with the external members and their sense of the good which may be rejected or partially or totally accepted. Thus, reason is not only constituted within a specific tradition, but also constitutes

tradition. Perhaps it is this MacIntyrian version of reason and tradition that resonate in our context better when respondents show a tendency to dialogue not only amongst them but also with the external alternative discourses. A desire that is strongly anchored on the cultural identity and use the traditional reason of what is civil, while still aspiring to learn from external discourses, perhaps, demonstrate respondents' aspiration for a civil world. A Pakhtun male academic from Peshawar University said:

'Look our problems are not beyond solution. All we need is to sit and debate them. What we do in Hujra? We debate issues that influence us. So we already have the culture of dialogue in our culture'. (Interviewee No. 25, March, 2012).

The desire of communitizing the 'emergent civil society' by bringing formal and informal civil societies closer, in sustainable relationships and the desire of creating spaces for mutual dialogues does show, to a certain extent, an inward-looking tendency of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. However, it is extremely difficult to provide an empirical evidence that may capture such aspirations taking an observable form. For instance, there are some NGO forums such as the Pakistan NGOs Forum but such forums do not seem to be active.

There are some associations that have managed to emerge from informal civil society and have managed to work as formal associations and there are also instances of associations that are led by people with rural backgrounds. Such associations such AKBT, KK and JPI work regularly with the informal civil society. However, such instances are very few.

6.10. Conclusion

Building on the argument presented in the previous chapter, this chapter has extended and completed the argument of the thesis by presenting empirical evidence. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar demonstrates a commitment to peace and non-violence, which has led some sections to reject conservative masculine forces and violent extremism. As the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar tends to retain an indigenous local cultural identity and embrace local cultural and religious value systems, this tendency also triggers certain antithetical forces, which create frictional encounters, which act as limitations on the 'emergent civil society's' commitment to peace, as these two chapters have demonstrated.

The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, in order to minimise these limitations, seems to be looking more towards the state and pressurising it to provide favourable conditions rather than develop an inward looking tendency to address some of the internal complexities that need attention as well.

While a number of dilemmas and tensions surround the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, yet our primary data demonstrates that the alternative perspective of civil society seems to resonate in our non-Western conditions. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar, as a case study, shows the possibility that an insistence on 'modularity', as the work of Ernest Gellner shows, may not be the only route to construct a civil society. Civil society may be built within an alternative socio-cultural context. Civil society, however, conceived within an alternative context may have problems and challenges of its own.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that a peace oriented struggle has emerged within the non-state social space in Peshawar amidst violence, which rejects violence and embrace peace. By analyzing the peace oriented struggle in Peshawar, this thesis has drawn attention to the potential role of civil society in contributing to peacebuilding in Peshawar, which has generated the discourse of peace, rooted in the local traditional and religious perspectives. By embracing the local traditional and religious perspectives and a local cultural identity, the 'emergent civil society' not only provides a philosophic base to its peace oriented struggle but also reflects certain theoretical threads of the 'alternative' discourse of civil society, Gramscian in particular. In other words, the 'emergent civil society' reflects Gramscian perspective of civil society in which it becomes a battleground of clashing opinions and perspectives and in which social inequalities and unequal power relations, rooted within local structures, are challenged. The 'emergent civil society' becomes an arena of cultural reproduction and identity formation in which the questions of whose identity is to be prioritised and whose version of peace must prevail are contested.

By retaining tradition and religion rather than rejecting them and by assuming a feminist dimension, our case study, however, also demonstrates that the 'alternative' discourse seems to assume a specific character whereby the 'alternative' understanding of civil society seems to take a further deviation. This deviation, nonetheless, reflects the overall 'alternative' discourse rather than mainstream liberal discourse of civil society, which is criticised for its gender and liberal assumptions.

The peace oriented struggle reflects Pakhtuns' desire of taking the Pakhtun society in civic, non-militaristic directions as expressed by our respondents. However, as this desire is rooted in local traditional and religious perspectives, the tendency of retaining a cultural identity triggers certain antithetical forces, which ultimately impact upon this desire. While explicitly recognising the desire of embedding the 'emergent civil society' in local cultural resources, feminine voices highlight masculine hegemony, which have produced and sustained unequal social divisions between men and women. The historically sustained masculinised hegemony is somehow accepted as 'natural' and the agency, which challenges such order, as exhibited by women associations based in Peshawar, is resisted. The frictional encounter between feminist voices, representing cultural change and conservative traditional forces occurs when respondents' ideas of 'peace' and violence are explored.

On the other hand, the 'emergent civil society's' contribution to build peace amidst violence comes into friction with violent extremism and religious orthodox forces. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar grapples with the religious fundamentalism that is perceived by the respondents of this research as a serious threat to their pluralistic understandings of society and religion. In both cases religion is perceived by them as a positive source that can contribute to peace and non-violence rather than violence. It is this specific understanding of religion as demonstrated by our respondents that challenges Gellner's understanding of Islam, which is discussed in detail further on in this conclusion.

To analyse the peace oriented struggle and examine the character of the limiting forces, this thesis designed a prime research question: can civil society in Peshawar contribute to peacebuilding? However, to answer such question was both complex and problematic.

The complexity pertains to the very contested and complex debate about civil society as various ideas of civil society, summed up as 'liberal' and 'alternative' prevail in the literature on civil society. The degree of complexity receives a further intensity, when the Western born concept of civil society is applied in a non-Western context, such as Peshawar, which is the focus of this thesis as different ideas of civil society prevail in the literature. To examine what specific ideas of civil society resonate in our context, this thesis had to grapple with certain philosophical questions, such as, what value systems inform the philosophical foundation of civil society in Peshawar. However, to answer such philosophical questions also required a deeper understanding of the social, cultural and political context of our case study.

To grapple with the philosophic questions on the one hand and with the exploration of socio-political context on the other hand helped us see clearly that certain theoretical threads in the 'alternative' perspective of civil society resonate in our case study. Answering the prime research question, however, was problematic as this thesis developed its main argument that the 'emergent civil society' is oriented more towards the 'alternative' conception of civil society and shows the tendency of retaining its local cultural identity and persona rather than individual liberalism, which is the fundamental feature of the mainstream 'liberal' civil society. However, the retention of local cultural

resources is highly problematic as it triggers certain antithetical forces, which seem to impact upon the peacebuilding desire.

This thesis has focused on certain desperate voices, which appear to have developed a strong commitment to peace within the non-state social space. Mostly assuming the associational form beyond the state within the non-state social space, these voices demonstrate a desire to build peace and reject violence, both visible and latent violence, and place an agenda of human rights before the state. Focused more on the state to pressurise it, this thesis also argued that the 'emergent civil society' also needs a strong inward looking tendency to resolve its internal tensions and challenges.

The following section will sum up the argument of the thesis.

Summing up the debate

As pointed out in the Introduction, the genesis of this thesis lies deep within the researcher's personal experiences of living in Peshawar as a member of the Pakhtun society. Perhaps it may be pertinent to briefly mention an excerpt from an email that was sent to the researcher by a male Pakhtun friend, based in Peshawar, on 22nd December 2006.

'I went for a short presentation to X[113] University...it took me one and half hours to explain to the students that we (Pakhtun) are not Taliban'.

Following a series of conversations in which the researcher and other men and women from KP participated, Aryana Institute of Regional Research and Advocacy (AIRRA) was established in May 2007 as a civil society organization to

[113] He referred to a University based in the capital of Punjab.

undertake research and connect people concerned about violence in KP. This was followed by the emergence of 'Aman Tehreek' (Peace Movement) in March 2009 that acted as a networking platform for various associations in Peshawar. However, besides the emergence of such associations in Peshawar, the researcher's personal knowledge of a large number of enmities amongst the Pakhtun and incidence of honour killings in the Pakhtun society also inspired this research as pointed out in the Introduction.

Such personal experiences triggered a strong interest to understand the Pakhtun community, the society of ordinary people and their inter-relations on the one hand and to understand the rise of peace oriented associations in Peshawar on the other hand. A normative and analytical tool was needed to enable the researcher to conceptualise, understand and examine these community relations and the rise of associations in Peshawar outside the state structure.

The term 'civil society' was already gaining currency in Peshawar and was used for platforms such as AIRRA. The concept of civil society, therefore, was perceived to be a useful conceptual tool to examine the character of sociability amongst the Pakhtun and the rise of peace oriented associations in Peshawar beyond the state.

While initially the conceptual framework of civil society was found to be useful yet the realization, after an in-depth literature review, emerged that civil society is a Western concept and its application in the non-Western context, may generate certain theoretical problems. In order to examine the emerging

theoretical problems, this thesis sought to address the following main research objectives.

- To examine the concept of civil society and explore what ideas of civil society may resonate in non-Western context
- To examine and understand the social context of our case study, i.e. Pakhtun and their culture
- To understand the character of the state, the state's role in violent extremism and the state's relation with civil society in Pakistan
- To investigate and understand the character of the associational life in Peshawar and examine whether or not the discourse of civil society can be used to frame the peace oriented struggle as exhibited by the associational life

However, this thesis does not claim to have found a new theory of civil society. This thesis also neither claims that the 'emergent civil society' is capable to end violence and build peace, nor this thesis intends to prove that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar can be equated with any particular perspective of civil society in the West. Instead, it focuses on how the concept of civil society can help us understand the peace-oriented struggle, which has emerged in Peshawar amidst violence and which need attention.

It is argued in this thesis that the discourse of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar is oriented more towards certain theoretical thread in the 'alternative' perspective of civil society, in which the local cultural and religious perspectives are counted as important philosophical foundation and important normative sources of civility and peace. However, the alternative trajectory is

not without problems and crates its own implications as demonstrated by certain limitations.

The following section will show how a number of theoretical issues were addressed. Foremost amongst such issues was unpacking the contested notion of civil society. In the following section the main points of the debate will be revisited.

The relevance of civil society in the non-Western context and the attributes of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar

This thesis starts with clarifying the confusion that surrounds the notion of civil society and investigates the theoretical debate of civil society. Tracing the origin of the Western concept of civil society, chapter 1 explored how the post-enlightenment conditions, mainly the rise of commercial activities and liberalism, contributed to the emergence of the concept of civil society in Europe. Chapter 1 was primarily focused on understanding civil society at the theoretical level and explored how the term kept changing in different contexts and conditions amongst different thinkers. It is important, for example, to understand why the perception of civil society, during the Scottish Enlightenment, was different from that of the Greeks' and why Marx rejected the term as bourgeois society, which was, later, retained by some post-Marxist thinkers as an important sphere of contested hegemonies. However, the term still retained gender biases and remained oriented more towards the white, male urban, elites, which is why it was suggested in the first chapter that a feminist's perspective of civil society is both important and relevant at present. In other words, chapter 1 demonstrates that the Western concept of civil society

may be invoked differently in different contexts and a conception of civil society that considers 'family' as a private institution and excludes it from the realm of civil society may sustain gender biases. It was also argued in the first chapter that some experts have investigated the Western notion of civil society in alternative traditions, such as Islam, and have argued that such alternative traditions also have the discourse of civil society, albeit in different forms and using different idioms.

Chapter 1 also formulated how this thesis has deployed two different but overlapping usages of civil society as informed by our data and how we have operationalized the concept of civil society as formal and informal civil society in this thesis to capture the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar at the empirical level. The first chapter concluded that the 'alternative' perspective of civil society does not tend to reject the application of the Western concept of civil society in the non-Western context because it does not consider individual liberalism as the necessary pre condition of civil society. However, the liberal model, as the work of Ernest Gellner shows, whereby certain pre-defined conditions, such as religion (Islam in particular) and cultural identity, are perceived antithetical to the very idea of civil society seemed to problematise the application of civil society in the non-Western context.

It was suggested in the Introduction that this thesis draws attention to the peace oriented struggle in Peshawar, which has been rendered invisible by the Taliban's violence, therefore, an in-depth exploration was required to know the character of this struggle and to render it observable. It was extremely important to understand, examine and record respondents' understanding of

the term civil society and know what ideas of civil society prevail in Peshawar. It was also important to explore respondents' interpretations of peace and violence in the region and develop an in-depth understanding about which value systems were potentially informing their perspectives of peace. Employing qualitative research, the field work was conducted in two parts as explained in chapter 2, whereby in-depth interviews and some participant observation were used to collect primary data in Peshawar and some other parts of Pakistan, KP in particular. Chapter 2 also presents the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher, which informed this research and various ethical issues that created implications for this research. Foremost amongst such issues was the alarming security conditions in Peshawar and the challenge of how to ensure researcher's personal safety and that of my respondents during the field work. While important measures were taken to mitigate potential risks, an important challenge was how to access women respondents. Despite belonging to the region, snowball sampling was used to access respondents, women respondents in particular, in Peshawar. However, every effort was conducted to mitigate the adverse impacts of snowball technique, such as interviewing like-minded individuals only. It is argued in chapter 2 that this thesis does not make a claim that the data generated during two field visits is representative of the entire population in Peshawar yet every effort was made to ensure representativeness of the local population such as collecting data in two adjacent cities, the inclusion of non-Pakhtun and non-Muslims in the data sample and the use of participant observation.

An approach to civil society whereby modularity is perceived as the pre-requisite of civil society, generates serious theoretical problem, which were

discussed in chapter 3. Referring to some theoretical and empirical research such as the work of Varshney (2005) and analyzing the Non-Violent Movement amongst the Pakhtun, chapter three argues that religion, Islam, which Gellner focuses on in particular, was invoked by the Pakhtun to mobilize people for non-violence and it is not religion per se that is a potential hurdle. Instead religion, Islam, was used as an important value system for the potential emergence of civil society by the Pakhtun that enabled them to work with people of different faiths. It is, however, within a specific political and social context that religion is interpreted differently, as for instance the Taliban have also used religion to justify their violent extremism.

Chapter 3 also discussed that the non-state social space in Pakhtun culture, informed by traditional and religious perspectives, has certain embedded norms and social structures that marginalize certain sections of the society besides encouraging latent violence amongst the Pakhtun. These norms and social structures are preserved in the name of Pakhtun identity and Pakhtun culture by Pakhtun male members. The emergence of KKT was a resistance, to a certain extent, against such norms and social structures, whereby the very masculine conception of Pakhtun honour was challenged by its members. Revenge, for instance, was discouraged amongst the Pakhtun and non-violence was advocated. Pakhtun women, in particular, challenged masculinity by bringing out their respective experiences of subjugation within the Pakhtun families.

However, religion can become a tool of manipulation also, as chapter 4 discusses the role of the Pakistani state that used a specific brand of religion, which under specific regional political conditions contributed to violent

extremism. While chapter 1 presents a detailed theoretical framework of the Western concept of civil society, its specific deployment in this thesis, and chapter 3 explores the social and cultural context where the concept is to be applied, chapter 4 investigates the political context and the origin of violent extremism. Chapter 4 argues that the Pakistani state that evolved as a centralized, exclusionary state discouraged the democratic political forces that emerged within the non-state social space, while it encouraged religious forces under specific conditions. To support our argument, chapter 4 shows that it is not religion per se that contributes to violence, rather specific political and social contexts that may lead to such an interpretation. Chapter 4 presents the case study of the Taliban, whereby religion has been used to legitimize violence.

To explore the process of the potential emergence of civil society in Peshawar informed by immanent sources and answer our research question, needed an in-depth analysis, which is presented in chapter 5 and 6. The analysis of the data shows that the peace oriented struggle show that the Pakhtun, immersed in ascriptive identities seems to realize and recognize the importance of constructing a peaceful society. However, to build a peaceful society based on non-violent interactions, they do not seem to be inclined to embrace individual liberalism as the philosophical foundation of their interactions as we see in the case of the 'liberal' variant of civil society. Gellner's assumption that only modularity, informed by individual liberalism, can become the foundation of civil society, which is why Muslim Ummah cannot become civil society, seems to be a 'mistaken' approach. Individual liberalism along with the Western industrialism and liberal market economy as discussed in chapter 3, which seem to be important defining features of the 'liberal' variant of civil society, do not

seem to be relevant in our case. For instance, the bourgeoisie played an important role in advocating the rule of law in the West as the market economy was emerging in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, in Pakistan, the liberal market economy has operated within different political dynamics. The bourgeoisie emerged within the specific political conditions of Pakistan, whereby the state power was overwhelmingly tilted more towards the elites and land owning class. In order to be part of the market economy, the bourgeoisie, in Pakistan, had to rely on these powerful elites as the latter were in control of the emerging market economy. The nexus between the bourgeoisie and political elites did not allow the former to play a role of advocating the rule of law. Poor condition of the rule of law in Pakistan suited, to a certain extent, the new emerging economic class to seek under the table deals. However, on the other hand, civil society and market relations, at a conceptual level, do not necessarily represent a positive co-relation as discussed in chapter 1. Thus, civil society may not be seen within the logic of marketization in our context. However, the non-relevance of the 'liberal' model of civil society is also because that the Pakhtuns' consciousness is rooted in local cultural milieu rather individual liberalism as explained below.

While liberalism and marketization seem to be important features of the 'liberal' model of civil society as some historical evidence informs us, the possibility of an alternative model of civil society cannot be dismissed. An alternative model may not put emphasis on liberalism and marketization as such.

In other words, the construction of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar seems to deviate from the liberal logic of civil society. The 'emergent civil

society' in Peshawar is informed by a strong desire of embracing the local traditional and religious perspectives. Tradition and religion are perceived as potential hindrances to construct a civil society, as the works of Gellner shows, as discussed in the third chapter, whereas in our case they are perceived as sources of strength because our respondents could see important values and norms that could possibly build a peaceful society. Providing norms and local mechanism of social order and peace, the entire idea of civil society seems to gravitate more towards such immanent value systems.

The analysis also shows that there are problems within this trajectory. To build a civil society where interactions amongst different members irrespective of their background are based on non-violence and peace may not occur with ease. Rather, this may be accompanied by stresses and strains. Immanent sources may not offer a harmonious, well-coherent and tension-free philosophical foundation. As civil society may arise from a given culture and there might be different, competing perspectives in that culture, therefore, competition between such worldviews may exist. This was an important observation in our case, whereby tensions between different immanent sources invoked by different respondents in Peshawar exist and the 'emergent civil society' emerges as a battleground between competing ideas and perspectives.

We observed that tensions between different worldviews do not necessarily stand in the way of constructing a new peaceful society until the navigation of civil society across different ideals trigger certain antithetical forces. These antithetical forces seem to limit the construction of civil society and seem to eclipse the potential emergence of civil society in Peshawar. In other words,

there are certain deeply held opinions, values and structures which are identified by some members in the Pakhtun society as problematic and thus advocate the transformation of such values and structures. Nevertheless, being deeply and passionately held by some members of the Pakhtun society, the identification of such values and structures as problematic areas also generate strong reaction amongst such members who perceive the entire effort of change as alien and thus resist such change.

We observe the limiting role of antithetical forces at two points.

First, we observe the rise of antithetical forces when the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar identifies latent violence embedded within local traditional and religious perspectives and preserved in the name of tradition and cultural identity. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar demonstrates the desire of cultural change and shift by putting up an agenda of human rights as demonstrated by women's associations in Peshawar and thus acquires a feminist outlook. To advocate cultural change, certain values and structures are identified as problematic areas, which need transformation. It is precisely here that Gellner's argument of the role of tradition in inhibiting the potential emergence of civil society resonates. However, our thesis argues that a certain aspect of tradition, such as gender roles, may not be conflated with the entire tradition. The desire of cultural change as demonstrated by women's organizations in Peshawar is resisted by the conservative forces of tradition that seem to controversialize the entire realm of NGOs, especially those led by women as explored in chapter 5. Although women's voices seem to posit that their desire of cultural change does not necessarily contradict the desire of

indigenizing the entire concept of civil society, yet their slogan of women's rights renders their agenda of change as a Westernized scheme that is injected by the Western aid donors, as some of the proponents of the Pakhtun tradition and religious orthodox sections perceive. Such conservative sections, then perceive the entire agenda of civil society as a foreign agenda. While criticizing such a masculine mind set, women's associations, then look towards the state to provide favourable conditions to pursue their agenda of change.

Second, we observe the rise of antithetical forces when the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar identifies violent extremism as a non-indigenous programme that is perceived as the product of certain regional, geostrategic objectives whereby religion has been employed to justify violence. Rejecting violent extremism as the antithesis of peace, peace-voices from Peshawar identify two related spheres that may potentially sustain violent extremism. By pointing to the role of the state and growing religious orthodoxy within the non-state social space, peace-voices' desire to construct interactions based on non-violence run into frictional encounters with the state and religious fundamental forces. The state's use of a specific brand of Islam to mobilize people for Jihad and involvement in the Jihad project seem to have enhanced the social and political position of certain religious groups, both political and non-political groups, within the non-state social space that do not seem to reject violent extremism as exhibited by the Taliban. Such religious groups advocate a conservative worldview and support the implementation of a strict version of Sharia, which is resisted by the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. Moreover, the religious orthodox forces reject the construction of the 'emergent civil society' within immanent sources as antithetical to Islam. Using a specific, but

conservative version of Islam as the only measuring standard, these religious forces decide what is to be advocated and what is to be resisted. According to them a religious conservative order has to prevail as the only accepted way of life. Peace-voices, then, criticise the state for not providing the conditions of social justice and security and for not discouraging the totalizing tendency of growing religious orthodoxy. Criticality, then, emerges as the important feature of the 'emergent civil society'.

What binds these two segments of our argument together into a single coherent thread is that in both cases we encounter heterogeneity of worldviews. In other words, the non-state social space is filled with conflictive worldviews, which is an important theoretical thread of 'alternative' version of civil society. Conflict between different worldviews fluctuates between mild and frictional encounters. In both parts of our argument, i.e. the struggle to contest hyper masculinity and peace consciousness' rejection of violent extremism, we observe that the struggle is taking place outside the state within the non-state social space and is informed by a strong tendency of indigenizing the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

In both cases the 'emergent civil society' seems to identify certain conditions that include the rule of law, citizenship and security as the prime and most important conditions that may enable the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar to resolve various dilemmas and challenges that this thesis has identified. While in both cases the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar looks towards the state for support yet by coming into contact with such antithetical forces, the 'emergent civil society' also criticises such forces to minimize their potential influence and

weaken their impact on the overall society and demonstrate to the public an alternative vision of life based on non-violence.

While the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar criticizes and pressurizes the state to provide favourable conditions, some of the internal issues seem to have created serious challenges for the 'emergent civil society', which needs equal focus and energy. In order to build a concerted social action to advocate civil ideals, internal complex issues such as the charges of corruption, mismanagement in the formal sector of the 'emergent civil society' and a gap between formal and informal civil society in Peshawar, require deeper understanding and commitment. In other words, alongside an outward looking tendency that criticizes the state, an inward looking tendency within the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar may enhance the prospects of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar.

Nevertheless, the primary data does show some evidence that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar seems to be conscious of the internal issues. The 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar shows an awareness of the importance of debate and dialogue within and thus advocates communitizing the entire idea of civil society. However, to fill the gap between the formal and informal civil society in Peshawar, the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar also proposes communitizing the praxis of civil society. Taking the concept and practice of civil society deep within the community and working with people may reduce the tension between the emergent civil society and antithetical forces through debate and dialogue. Communitizing the concept and practice of civil society in

Peshawar is informed, however, by the overarching tendency of indigenizing the entire concept of civil society.

Such desires, however, emerge in shreds and pieces and lack coherence compared to certain expectations that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar put, quite systematically, before the state. Also, such realizations and desires have very rarely been translated into organizational objectives as we did not observe any organization committed to such realizations or groups of associations engaged in such work to promote dialogue. Such desires do not seem to be sufficient enough to contribute to a shared civil narrative because such desires seem to reside more within individuals or specific individuals within specific associations. In other words, robust networking and co-ordination within various associations, working on peace-related projects, and connecting with the community on more sustainable grounds may enhance the prospects of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar to contribute to peacebuilding.

Research implications

This thesis may be relevant to different groups of people and institutions, both inside and outside Pakistan, therefore, some research implications may be counted as follows.

Foremost amongst potential research implications is its direct importance to the civil society organizations in Peshawar in specific and to the civil society in the non-Western world, both at national and international levels, in general. To the best of researcher's knowledge, no such attempt has been made, in the form

of a systematic empirical research, aimed at exploration of the ordinary people's voices of peace and its potential limitations in Peshawar. As my thesis deals with the potential of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar to build peace and minimize violence, therefore, civil society, both within Pakistan and outside may find this research a useful self-reflective tool that may engender dialogue and further research.

Second, the donors' community at national, regional, and international levels, working with civil society in Pakistan, mostly formal sector, may find this research relevant. This research shows that the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar and elsewhere in Pakistan needs to be seen within its specific historical, social and political context and its specific character needs to be understood. A simplistic prescriptive solution mainly in the form of funding and overseeing the activities of a given association, and counting the outcomes of a given project and celebrating the density of civil society, perhaps, may not actualize the assumed hopes of seeing a vibrant civil society. A simplistic prescriptive solution may weaken the organic resilience of community and the indigenous sources of non-violence, which a particular civil society may be using as important sources of peacebuilding. The argument of this thesis that there is a possibility imagining an alternative vision of civil society, may engage donors and the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar and elsewhere in Pakistan on more sustainable grounds.

Third, while there is very limited literature on the Pakistani civil society's role in development and service delivery yet no empirical research exists that has assessed the potential role of Pakistani civil society in peacebuilding. So far, the

discourse of building peace has only been restricted to the potential role of the state and civil society is not seen as an important potential player in the overall project of peace. However, peace is neither the end of a conflict nor an affair restricted to few groups or individuals, rather it pervades the entire social spectrum of a given society and, therefore, needs an effort at the social level, in which civil society may be seen a potential actor.

Lastly, this research seeks to demonstrate that the Pakhtun culture and Islam may provide indigenous sources of non-violence that may be used by the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar for contributing to peacebuilding. As some political parties in Pakistan use both local culture and Islam to mobilize people, therefore, this research may be perceived as an endorsement of their respective political agendas. However, this research does not intend to support any particular political agenda rather this research was triggered by a key desire to understand the emergent associational life outside the state structures.

Further Research

Although this research focuses on the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar yet there are potential areas that could need further research.

This thesis mentions marketization as an important feature of the liberal model of civil society and makes some references to the role played by market economy in the Western history towards civil society in chapter 3. However, a thorough examination of how market forces are emerging in Pakistan and to what extent business class may have an impact on civil society in urban centres, such as Lahore and Karachi, may be suggested for further research.

Although the researcher was able, to a certain extent, to reach out to some informal associations in Peshawar yet a systematic analysis may require deeper understanding of this specific section of the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar. There is, perhaps, a need to understand whether or not every informal association can become part of the emergent civil society.

While my research mentions some of the internal issues that emanate from within the 'emergent civil society' in Peshawar yet a more in-depth and systematic study is required to understand to what extent these issues can adversely impact upon the 'emergent civil society'. Perhaps, to develop a single data base of both formal and informal associations in Peshawar may also enhance research prospects in future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Source: Axis of Logic available on http://axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/Article_29145.shtml

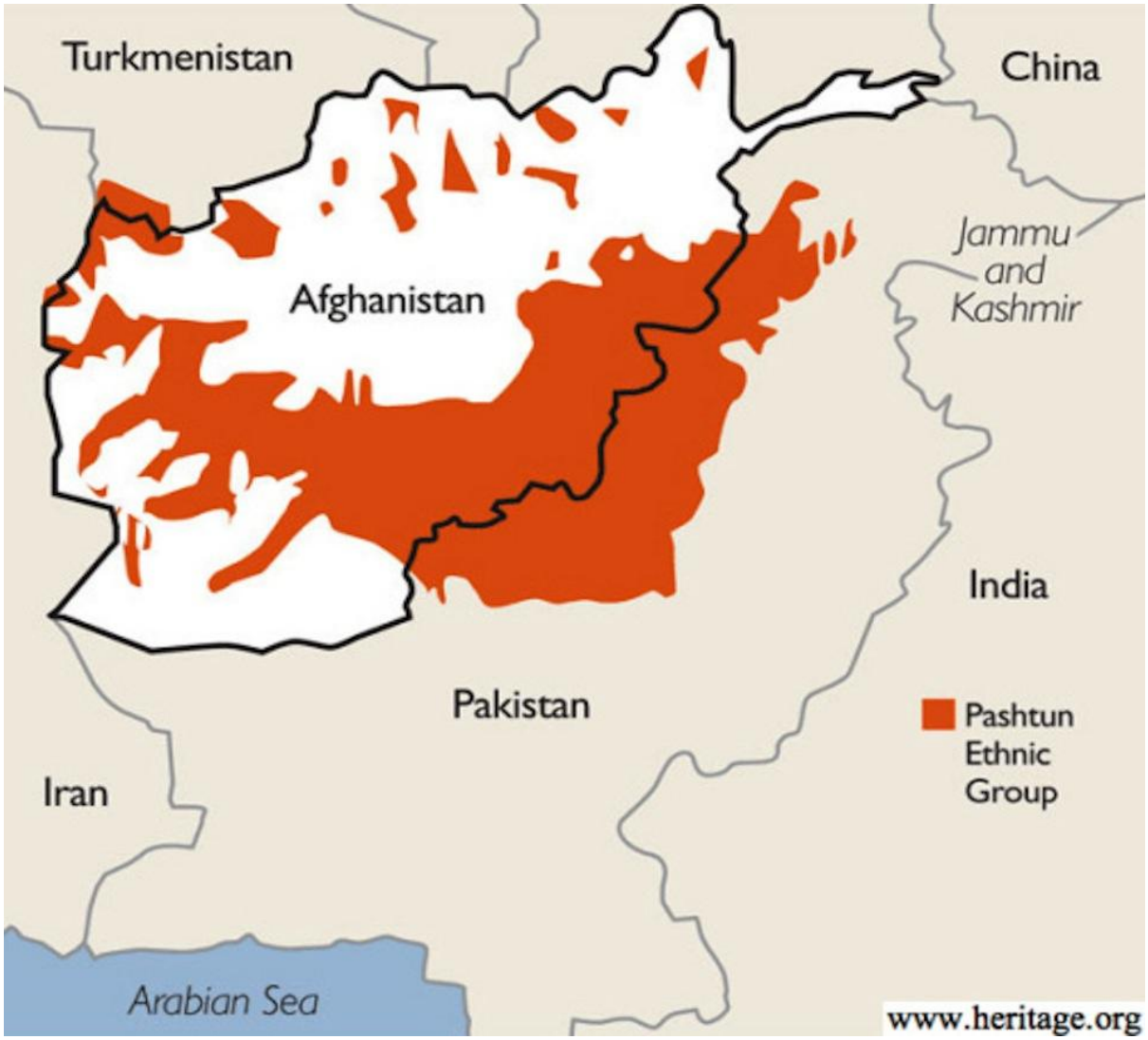
Appendix B

Source: Map of Pakistan available on http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/asia/pakistan/

Appendix C

Source: FATA Development Authority

Appendix D



Source: www.heritgae.org

Appendix E

Source: Mr Crossen's hirsoty page avalaible on http://crossenhistory.weebly.com/chapter-30-a-second-global-conflict-and-the-end-of-the-european-world-order.html

Appendix F

Consent Form for Interviewees

Title: Peacebuilding in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP): Can Civil Society (CS) contribute to peace?

What you will do in this research: If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to participate in one interview. You will be asked several questions. Some of them will be about CS's roles and responsibilities in relation to peace building in KP while some questions will be about you or your organization's contribution to peace building.With your permission, I will tape record the interviews so I don't have to make so many notes. You will not be asked to state your name on the recording.

Time required: The interview will take approximately 2 hours. However the interview may come to an end early.

Benefits: This is a chance for you to share your experiences and thoughts, related to CS's potential to build peace.

Confidentiality: Your responses to interview questions will be kept confidential. At no time will your actual identity be revealed. You will be assigned a random numerical code. Anyone who helps me transcribe responses will only know you by this code. The recording will be destroyed within 5 to 7 months after it has been transcribed. The transcript, without your name, will be kept until the research is complete.

The key code linking your name with your number will be kept in a lockable cabinet accessibel to me only, and its safety will be strictly ensured by not

allowing any person to access it. It will be destroyed by 31-12-2012. The data you give me will be used for my PhD research and may be used as the basis for articles or presentations in the future. I won't use your name or information that would identify you in any publications or presentations.

Participation and withdrawal: Your participation is completely voluntary. Therefore you may withdraw from the interview at any stage of the interview without any penalty. For example, you may cancel the interview altogether or withdraw in the middle. No questions will be asked to explore the reasons of withdrawal, however, rescheduling may be requested if the withdrawal is caused by something unexpected. You may withdraw by informing me that you no longer wish to participate. You may also skip any question during the interview if you think you are not comfortable in answering it (again, no question will be asked about it), but continue to participate in the rest of the study.

To contact the researcher: If you have questions or concerns about this research, please contact: Arshad Habib on email: arshad_habibpk @yahoo.com
Whom to contact about your rights in this research, for questions, concerns, suggestions, or complaints that are not being addressed by the researcher, or research-related harm: Prof: Jenny Pearce, University of Bradford, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD7 1DP E-mail: j.v.pearce@bradford.ac.uk

Agreement: The nature and purpose of this research have been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty. Name and signature is optional.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name (print): _____

Appendix G

Aman Ittehad (All-United for Peace) was established in 2009 over growing concerns related to violent extremism in Pakistan. It is a connecting platform for citizens and organizations from all over Pakistan, besides KP.

Aman Tehreek (Peace Movement), established in 2009, is a Peshawar based peace movement and is an umbrella organization of about 40 NGOs in KP and outside KP. It held a three day seminar in October 2009 and a published a document, named 'Peshawar Declaration'. 'Peshawar Declaration' is an attempt to trace the origin of extremism in the region and the involvement of the state in the Afghan Jihad. The document also encourages local people to rise against terrorism in the region and pressurize the state to support ordinary people's struggle to bring peace to the region. Aman Tehreek regularly holds seminars, talk shows, protests and arranges events, wherein ordinary people participate and share their desire of peace.

AKBT (Association for Behaviour and Knowledge Transformation), established in 1994, is a registered non-profit development organization working on economic and political empowerment of communities in the under-served areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)) of Pakistan, with a special focus on women and other marginalized groups. AKBT initially worked as an unregistered association in a remote area of KP but gradually was transformed into a formal organization. Based in Peshawar, it operates in 12 districts of KP.

Aurath Foundation (AF-Women Foundation), established in 1986 in Punjab, is a non-profit, non-governmental association. AF is also based in Peshawar and works in different parts of KP. AF works on women's rights and encourages women to participate in public affairs. AF regularly reports crime against women, honor killings in particular.

CAMP (Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme), established in 2002, is a non-profit, non-governmental organization. It works with some of the most underprivileged communities in FATA and KP and responds to emergencies. It also runs various programmes aimed at improving access to quality health and education, creating livelihood opportunities and working closely with communities and government to promote human rights, peace and security. CAMP also specifically works on improving the status of Jirga as local mechanism of conflict resolution.

CYAD (College of Youth Activism and Development), established in 2010, perceives tradition to have contributed to the marginalization of youth both male and female and thus provide spaces to the young Pakhtun in KP to interact and explore local solution to various problems. CYAD provides youth with opportunities in education and technical training.

JPI (Just Peace Initiatives), established in 2004, based in Peshawar is a registered, non-profit, and non-governmental association. JPI seek to use local conflict resolution mechanism of Jirga to promote peace and justice in the Pakhtun community. 'Peace by game' and 'Peace by Art' were some of its famous projects.

Khwendo Kor (KK-Sisters' Home), established in 1993, is a non-profit, non-governmental association, based in Peshawar. KK came into being as an urgent need expressed by local women to address women issues. It has developed into sisterhood, guiding local women to take practical steps for the betterment of their families. It strongly advocates women's rights.

RIPORT (Regional Institute of Policy Research and Training), established in 2005 and based in Peshawar, is a non-profit, non-governmental association. It works on peace and regional stability. It regularly conducts research on development-related local issues.

Shrikat Gah (space of participation), established in 1975 in Punjab, is a non-profit, non-governmental association based in Peshawar. It works for the emancipation and empowerment of women in Pakistani society. It regularly reports instances of honor killings and acts as a watchdog on the biased decisions of Jirga.

SPO (Strengthening Participatory Organization), established in 1994, works on human rights, governance, security, justice and peace issues in FATA and other parts of KP.

TNC (Tribal NGOs Consortium), established in 2009, is an umbrealla association to work with other local associations in FATA, mainly informal and unregistered, towards sustainable peace and development.